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PETER BERKOWITZ

Does Human Nature Have a Future?

PETER AUGUSTINE LAWLER
ANDREW FERGUSON

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the weekly Standard

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Of Presidents and Princes

During his father's presidency, Neil Bush—you remember—was the object of considerable partisan innuendo concerning his service on the board of a savings and loan bank that went belly up in spectacular fashion. Now, ten years later during his brother's administration, an apparent Neil Bush embarrassment is again in the newspapers. Only this time the newspapers in question are published in Saudi Arabia. And the embarrassment has nothing to do with partisan innuendo. So far as THE SCRAPBOOK can tell, it's an open and shut case.

Early last week brother Neil was in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, Osama bin Laden's hometown, for an "economic forum" sponsored in part by Prince Talal ibn Abdul Aziz. The president's sibling, who heads a company called Ignite! Learning, quite probably imagines that he was invited because of local interest in the educational software Ignite is marketing through a partner company in the United Arab Emirates. But the Saudi press seems only (and predictably) to have reported what this member of the American royal family had to say about regional politics.

Which was alarming in its own right, if the English-language daily *Arab News* can be trusted. Even as George W. Bush's White House was reportedly considering a significant withdrawal of America's military commitment to Saudi Arabia, here was Neil Bush in Jeddah blaming tension between the two countries on a "U.S. media campaign against the interests of Arabs and Muslims." According to *Arab News*, Bush endorsed a fresh and sympathetic American look at the "root causes of terror." And he noted that, while "in the U.S. for years we believed in Israel's right to exist"—*believed?*—"American public opinion on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict could be influenced through a sustained lobbying and PR effort."

Clinton in Jerusalem

AP/Wide World Photos

What a coincidence: That's precisely the kind of lobbying and PR effort that Prince Talal is currently attempting to organize, a multimillion dollar response to Western media defamations about so-called Palestinian terrorism, a "terrible expression" that the prince is determined to rebut. Good ol' Neil Bush: Always happy to help a friend.

That the president's brother was in Jeddah last week as a patsy, not as a software entrepreneur, was later confirmed, incidentally, by Prince Talal's bitter criticism of the economic forum's organizers for having also invited . . . Bill Clinton. They paid Clinton $267,000 for his 40-minute speech, Talal complained to the Al Jazeera television network. All of it wasted, he went on, since Clinton has no influence with the current Republican administration.

Also, THE SCRAPBOOK might add, were THE SCRAPBOOK an anti-Semitic princeling in the Saudi royal family, Bill Clinton has a disturbing history of friendship with Jewish people. As we are reminded by last week's Associated Press photograph of the distinguished ex-president on a visit to Jerusalem, surrounded by young office workers at the Israeli foreign ministry (see adjacent). One of whom a beaming Clinton appears to clutch, his chin in her long blonde hair, her head nestled softly on his shoulder. Shalom! ♦

Out of Context?

Scheduled to appear as a speaker at the State Department on January 28, the Monday after this is printed, is the head of the Los Angeles-based Muslim Public Affairs Council, Salam Al-Marayati. His talk, ironically titled "Rising Voices of Moderate Muslims," is part of a regularly scheduled series for department employees called The Secretary's Open Forum. Why is the title ironic? Because Al-Marayati distinguished himself during a September 11 radio interview on L.A.'s KCRW by voicing this "moderate" thought: Israel might have perpetrated the World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks.

After the Zionist Organization of America issued a press release calling on Colin Powell to rescind the invitation, State Department spokesman Richard Boucher last week defended this invitation specifically and the forums generally, saying they were set up during the Vietnam war "with a mandate from the secretaries . . . to encourage a variety of discussion, and there's no . . . policy approval of who speaks and who doesn't."

Al-Marayati's defense is the usual refuge of scoundrels: that his broadcast remarks were a "hypothetical rejoinder"

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taken out of context. Well, the context for Al-Marayati's "hypothetical rejoinder" was provided by *Los Angeles Times* religion reporter Larry B. Stammer in a September 22 article. Al-Marayati was asked during a radio interview whether he was "worried about another spate of anti-Muslim sentiment in the United States?" Yes, he replied, "we're warning about generalizations that will only aid the criminals who perpetrated this deplorable act and really hurt innocent people."

He then proceeded to offer his own generalization, which, you might say, only aided the criminals who perpetrated this deplorable act. Here's what he said: "If we're going to look at suspects, we should look to the groups that benefit the most from these kinds of incidents, and I think we should put the state of Israel on the suspect list, because I think this diverts attention from what's happening in the Palestinian territories, so that they can go on with their aggression and occupation and apartheid policies. Why not put all the suspects on the list, instead of going ahead and shooting from the hip and saying those people did it and bombing the cornfields of Afghanistan and pharmaceutical factories of Sudan. . . ."

Some context. Al-Marayati claims he offered a "personal apology for the misunderstanding to the Jewish leaders I have had dialogue with." Misunderstanding? Are there any varieties of discussion the State Department won't encourage? ♦

He hates us. He really, really hates us.

In December 2000, THE SCRAPBOOK pointed out some of the absurd statements made by Hollywood lefties who threatened to leave America if Bush became president. Prominent among these lefties was Robert Altman. "If George Bush is elected president, I'm leaving for France," said the director of the critically acclaimed *Gosford Park* and smash hits *Prêt-à-Porter* and *Popeye*. After Bush's victory, Altman amended his statement, saying "if Bush gets elected, I'll move to Paris, Texas, because the state will be better off if he's out of it."

So you'd think that in light of the widespread praise of Bush's leadership at a time of national crisis, Altman might have lightened up. Think again—as he ranted to the *London Times*, "This present government in America I just find disgusting. The idea that George Bush could run a baseball team successfully—he can't even speak! I just find him an embarrassment. I was over here [in England] when the election was on and I couldn't believe it—and I'm 76 years old. Then when the Supreme Court came in and turned out to be a totally political animal, the last shred of any naiveté that was left in me has gone."

Altman is unswerving in his hatred, seemingly of all things American. He adds, "When I see an American flag flying, it's a joke." Altman is also currently residing in England and says, "I'd be very happy to stay here. There's nothing in America I would miss at all." And we won't miss you, either. ♦

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Casual

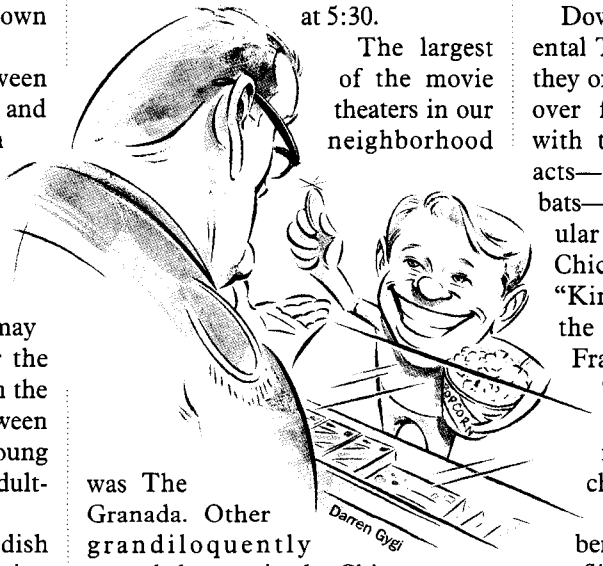
Popcorn Palaces

I read John Podhoretz's "Multiplex Blues," his amusing account of the difference between the broken-down theaters of his early moviegoing days in the 1970s and the plush multiplexes and cineplexes in which the inferior flicks of today are shown, with the smug smile of the man with history on his side. The theaters with sprung seats, gum on the floors, and sad concession stands of Podhoretz's youth were earlier the dazzling movie palaces of my own boyhood.

The great difference between youthful moviegoing in the 1970s and in my day is that I grew up in an America that still had a unified popular culture, not then so divided as now between things produced for specific audience generations: children, youth, grown-ups. Rock 'n' roll may have been the watershed. After the advent of Elvis and following him the Beatles, the country divided between the young who wanted to stay young forever and those who thought adulthood not really so bad a deal.

Although there were childish entertainments when I was growing up in the late forties and early fifties—comic books, after-school and Saturday-morning radio shows, Disney and Lassie movies—most children partook of the same popular culture as their parents. Particularly was this so in the movies. Censorship was strict—in the movies, even married couples were allowed no closer intimacy than twin beds. Ratings were nonexistent because they were not needed.

In those days, one generally went to the movies without even inquiring about what was playing. In the era before air conditioning in private residences, one was sometimes taken by one's parents to escape steamy summer nights. Moviegoing was so much part of big city life that, when I was a boy, there were no fewer than seven movie theaters within walking distance of our apartment. Most of them showed double features—two full-length movies—with a cartoon or two, a newsreel, and coming attractions thrown in at no extra charge. In a child's version of a long day's journey into night, we walked into a movie theater on bright, cold Saturday afternoons at 1:00 and emerged from it into the dark at 5:30.



The largest of the movie theaters in our neighborhood was The Granada. Other grandiloquently named theaters in the Chicago of those days were the Riviera, the Oriental, the Tivoli, the Alhambra. The names were meant to suggest the promise of exotic adventure to be found within. A small, nearby theater was called The 400, and must have taken its name from Ward McAllister's socialite 400, which derived from the exact number of people who could be fitted into Mrs. Vanderbilt's ballroom in her Fifth Avenue mansion. There must once have been exactly 400 seats in the theater, which has since been broken up into four mini-theaters and is now called, rather prosaically, The Village North.

As for the Granada, perhaps only the tsar would have felt at home there. Its sumptuous lobby ended with a magnificent red carpeted staircase that led to its immense balcony. Marble was everywhere. So were enormous paintings of unidentified nobility. Ushers dressed with care as if cadets in some unknown but aristocratic regiment. The men's room was so large it gave off an echo.

The cheapest children's admission ticket I can remember was 10 cents at the small Coed Theater on Morse Avenue. Elsewhere tickets were 15 and 20 cents. Candy was a nickel—I had a serious weakness for tooth-destroying Jujyfruits—a box of popcorn cost a dime, 15 cents if one were so flush as to be able to afford extra butter. I was given 35 cents to go to the movies, and never seemed to require more.

Downtown, the Chicago and Oriental Theaters charged 50 cents, but they offered stage shows, a last carry-over from vaudeville. Alternating with the movie, there were circus acts—trained dogs, jugglers, acrobats—and a headliner, usually a popular singer. On the stage of the Chicago Theater, I heard Nat "King" Cole, Dinah Washington, the Four Aces, Johnnie Ray, and Frankie Laine, the latter singing "Mule Train."

The best age to watch movies is undoubtedly one's childhood, before either critical intelligence or cultural snobbery kicks in. I cannot remember any flicks from my early moviegoing days that I disliked, though I did have a mild antipathy to the overly romantic. I particularly enjoyed a lengthy sword fight, usually conducted up and down a marble staircase or near the edge of a cliff, especially one in which Errol Flynn, Douglas Fairbanks Jr., and Cornel Wilde fought Basil Rathbone, George Macready, or some other pure type of the villain. In those days, Danny Kaye's movies probably gave me more pure pleasure than any others. I have tried to rewatch them as an adult, but it has been no go. The magic they once brought is lost, gone forever, with the astonishing popcorn palaces in which I first saw them.

Joseph Epstein

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Race Wars

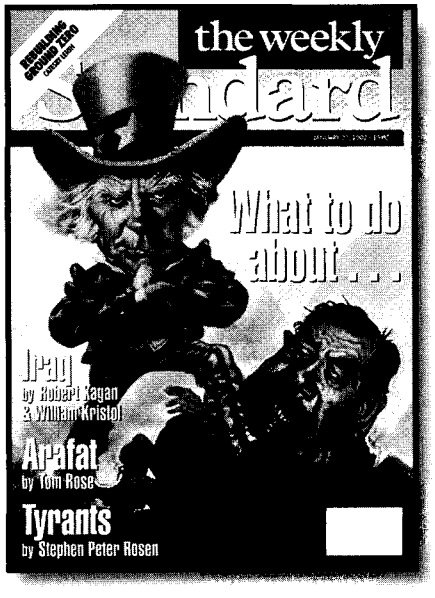
Heather Mac Donald has a gift for overstatement and oversimplification ("The War on the Police," Dec. 31/Jan. 7). Having been the subject of her attacks in print before, I'm not surprised to see her attack me again. Far more serious, however, is her refusal to recognize facts that don't support her position. Worse still, she misunderstands what we must do to win the war against terrorists.

Given her comments about crime in New York and stop and frisks, Mac Donald's failure to acknowledge in any way the recent study of the NYPD's stop and frisk practices by two of the nation's foremost researchers in criminal justice is surprising. The study, which looked at police reports of almost 190,000 stop and frisks in New York City over 15 months, indicates that neither crime rates of individual precincts nor suspect descriptions had anything to do with who got stopped and frisked. Only the race or ethnicity of the pedestrians involved explained who police stopped.

Mac Donald's attempts to set up a straw man—the argument of all the police bashers who believe blacks don't really show disproportionate representation in crime—rings hollow. No serious person fails to acknowledge the fact that crime rates for blacks are higher, but that is not the real problem with racial and ethnic profiling. The real problem is that these tactics do not work—they do not improve the effectiveness of law enforcement. In fact, stops and searches are less productive when police use race and ethnic appearance than when they use traditional observation of suspicious behavior.

Mac Donald's stating that hit rates for finding contraband tend to be equal on black and white drivers is nothing less than a misrepresentation of the available evidence. The study Mac Donald refers to—only one of the many thus far produced—shows roughly equal contraband hit rates among blacks and whites. Mac Donald neglects to mention that the same study showed clear discrimination against Latinos, and that not just some but all of the other studies showed lower hit rates for profiled blacks than for whites, not equal hit rates. Clearly, these data show that racial profiling does not work, but acknowledging this would have required Mac Donald to reconsider her preconceived views.

More troubling is Mac Donald's failure to understand what we are up against in al Qaeda. She doesn't want us to waste time searching non-Middle Easterners, because the people who attacked us on September 11 were all Middle Eastern males. Mac Donald conveniently forgets that al Qaeda has unfortunately shown itself to be not only vicious, but very clever and adaptable. The attack on the World Trade Center on September 11 was not the first, but the second, such attempt. When the first, in 1993, failed to accomplish the terrorists' objective, they took eight years to devise a new method of attack, plan it carefully, and carry it out. We can already see signs that this is happening now.



When al Qaeda wanted to make a post-September 11 attempt on an airliner, they didn't send another group of young male Middle Eastern hijackers; they knew we'd be watching for them. Instead, they sent shoe bomber Richard Reid—a non-Middle Eastern British citizen with a valid United Kingdom passport. Focusing on Arab or Middle Eastern ethnicity puts our attention on yesterday's method, instead of tomorrow's. And with the government's announcement that it cannot possibly have electronic explosive detection equipment in place to meet the January deadline, smuggling bombs onto planes in the bags of terrorists themselves or of other passengers is a much greater threat than a replay of the September 11 scenario. Thus, while Mac Donald may feel the searches of those she finds less threatening than Arabs are too much to bear, they are absolutely essential to our safety.

Next time, please think more about safety and less about ideology.

David A. Harris
Professor of Law, University of Toledo
Toledo, OH

Heather Mac Donald responds: In May 2000, David Harris testified before a Senate subcommittee that the claim that blacks and Latinos were "disproportionately involved" in the drug trade was "wrong on the facts" and the "creature of stereotypes." I am glad that he has now joined the ranks of "serious" people who acknowledge higher minority crime rates. If such an acknowledgement is so common, however, why was the superintendent of the New Jersey State Police fired in 1999 for stating that minorities dominate the distribution of cocaine and marijuana—a fact reported for years in federal drug analyses?

In his Senate testimony, Harris stressed that the hit rates for finding drugs on black and white drivers in the leading study are "statistically indistinguishable." If he accuses me of "misrepresentation," then he himself is guilty of misleading the Senate. Harris also cited Customs Service data that found drugs on 6.8 percent of searched whites, 6.2 percent of searched blacks—hardly a massive difference—and 2.8 percent of searched Hispanics. He could have added a survey from New Jersey, in which drugs were found on a higher proportion of black and Hispanic than white motorists. To my knowledge, only the year 2000 data set out of New Jersey shows a higher hit rate for white drivers.

Harris argues that these "statistically indistinguishable" hit rates show that all groups carry drugs equally and that the police are "racially profiling" minorities. To the contrary, they show the opposite. If the police were singling out black drivers merely because of their race, the hit rates for blacks would be much lower than for whites. In fact, most police look at the same set of behavioral cues for all drivers, which yield drugs at roughly

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equal rates. That black drivers are searched more often than whites reflects the fact that blacks are disproportionately involved in drug trafficking and so exhibit the behavior of drug traffickers more often.

I have never advocated "racial profiling" in domestic law enforcement. My point is that in most cases of alleged racial profiling, the police are merely going where the crime is, and are then blamed for where they end up; if police critics spent more time observing officers or talking to them on their beats, they would better understand the complex factors that go into the decision to stop someone. As for the NYPD study to which Harris alludes and whose results he greatly exaggerates, he fails to note that the study found that blacks were "significantly" less likely to be stopped on suspicion of property crimes than whites or Hispanics, in total contradiction to the "racist police" hypothesis.

Perhaps Harris has not noticed that the al Qaeda cells recently exposed in Italy, Spain, Germany, and Britain are made up overwhelmingly of Middle Eastern and North African Islamic men. Al Qaeda changed its means of destruction between the 1993 and 2001 World Trade Center attacks, but the participants and planners shared the same religious, regional, and gender identities. To be sure, al Qaeda's reach is global, extending in particular to Indonesia and Asia, but the bulk of its manpower will likely always be bred from Islamic fanaticism. The fact that the U.S. government lacks the capacity for reliably detecting bombs and other instruments of death makes the need to use all available intelligence about terrorism even greater. Suspicious individuals from countries that harbor terrorists should be scrutinized more carefully; only someone who believes that all groups commit terrorism at equal rates would feel safer seeing American grandmothers and elderly men in wheelchairs subjected to full body searches at the airport.

Guilty by Exposure

There is an additional point to be made in David Tell's "Dan Burton, Wrong Again" (Jan. 21), concerning grand jury proceedings and the exercise of prosecutorial discretion. As Tell notes, the present grand jury proceedings in the matter of the FBI's Boston office are being conducted in secrecy. This secrecy exists for, among other reasons, the fundamental reason that individuals who have been or are being investigated but are not subsequently indicted should not have their names and reputations put at risk through publication of allegations insufficient to meet the threshold test for indictment.

It is often the case that our rules of law are invoked in cases of unsavory circumstances and by unsavory individuals whose reputations may already be dubious, or that the likely subjects of an investigation may be well known or obvious. Nevertheless, it remains true that we are all beneficiaries of and are protected by these same rules, and we should all recoil at the idea of members of Congress exploring, second-guessing, and, of course, publicizing, grand jury proceedings and investigations of individuals who were never indicted.

Mark Schroeder
Houston, TX

Rebuilding the WTC

I read with interest Catesby Leigh's piece concerning the debate that has begun about how the World Trade Center site should be redeveloped and the nature and scope of the memorial that will be built there ("Rebuilding Ground Zero," Jan. 21).

There is a tendency among some involved in the debate to view the memorial as completely separate from the office buildings and residential buildings that also may be built at the site. Some have even suggested that the site should be mostly or entirely dedicated to the memorial, as if other development would somehow profane the memory of those who died there. I believe that this attitude, while understandable, is misguided and wrong.

For the past 15 years, I have worked two blocks from the World Trade Center, and I was in the complex two or more times most days. The complex was a vibrant community all its own. Every day it was filled with thousands of workers, shoppers, tourists, and people passing through from the train stations that serviced the complex. It is impossible to describe everything that happened there. Suffice it to say that so much of what is good about our country, the fruits of its economic and social freedom, happened at the World Trade Center on a daily basis.

Beyond the lives of the innocent, this is what the terrorists destroyed when they brought down the towers. This is why the economic redevelopment of the site is so necessary—as necessary as building a formal memorial to the dead. By rebuilding the offices and the shops, we re-create what they once created and what the terrorists thought they could destroy. If we fail to do this, then we would unwittingly perpetuate the destruction that has been wrought.

Robert F. Walsh
Belle Mead, NJ

Founding Fathers

Contrary to what Tom Rose writes, Yasser Arafat didn't found the Palestine Liberation Organization ("Arafat's Naval Adventure," Jan. 21). The Arab League established the PLO in 1964 under Ahmad Shuqeiri. West Bank leaders loyal to King Hussein of Jordan originally controlled the group. Arafat didn't become chairman until 1969.

Arafat did found Fatah in 1956. This is now the dominant faction of the PLO. When people refer to the PLO today, usually they really mean Fatah, so the larger point Rose makes in his article is still valid.

Peter Kauffner
Seoul, South Korea

• • •

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The Weekly Standard
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C-SPAN by the Numbers

Number of U.S. homes with cable and satellite that receive MTV: **83,400,000**

Number of U.S. homes that receive C-SPAN: **85,000,000**

MSNBC's rank among U.S. cable television networks, based on distribution: **34**

C-SPAN's rank, based on distribution: **8**

Average weekly audience for *West Wing*, 2000–2001 season: **17,012,000**

Estimated number of people watching C-SPAN each week: **28,500,000**

Percentage of Americans who voted in 2000 election: **51%**

Percentage of C-SPAN viewers who voted in 2000: **90%**

2001 salary budget for New York Yankees: **$109,791,893**

2001 operating budget for C-SPAN networks: **$36,200,000**

Number of people who work for Library of Congress: **4,083**

Number of people who work for C-SPAN: **282**

Miles traveled by 2 C-SPAN "School Buses" while visiting U.S. schools: **422,857**

Circumference of Earth, in miles: **24,901**

Hours of original programming produced annually by 11 Discovery networks: **2,100**

Hours of original programming produced in 2001 by 3 C-SPAN networks: **7,222**

U.S. House debates, as percentage of C-SPAN programming in 2001: **13%**

Hours of secret Nixon White House tapes housed at National Archives: **3,700**

Hours of programming stored in C-SPAN's archive: **167,267**

Number of cameras that late-night comedians say C-SPAN owns: **1**

Number of cameras C-SPAN actually owns: **78**

Number of books featured on Oprah's Book Club since its September 17, 1996 debut: **46**

Number of books featured on C-SPAN's *Booknotes* since September 17, 1996: **271**

Number of cases argued before the U.S. Supreme Court during 2000–2001 term: **86**

Number of times C-SPAN was permitted to televise those cases: **0**

Number of viewer phone calls aired by C-SPAN last year: **25,000**

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WE URGE THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION TO RESPOND TO ARAFAT'S SHIP OF TERROR BY SUSPENDING ALL U.S. RELATIONS WITH ARAFAT

In early January 2002, Yasir Arafat and the Palestinian Authority (PA) sponsored a "ship of terror," which tried to bring more than 50 tons of weapons to PA-controlled territory to be used to murder Israelis. It was the latest of numerous such "ships of terror" and other weapons-smuggling efforts by the PA.

The U.S. State Department has publicly acknowledged that Israel's evidence that the PA sponsored the ship is "compelling" and "extensive." A Congressional delegation canceled its meeting with Arafat after receiving an American intelligence briefing that showed "100 percent certainty" that Arafat and the PA sponsored the ship.

OVER 50 TONS OF WEAPONS CAPTURED BY THE ISRAELI ARMY ON THE PA SHIP *KARINE A*, JANUARY 3, 2002

BUSH: "ZERO TOLERANCE FOR TERROR"

President Bush deserves praise for clearly stating that the United States will have "zero tolerance" for terrorism and sponsors of terrorism, and that the U.S. will not make any distinction between "good" terrorists and "bad" terrorists. In keeping with this U.S. position, there must be a firm and unequivocal response to Arafat's "ship of terror." Anything less will send a message to Arafat and the PA that they can continue to wage war against Israel without feeling any consequences.

CONGRESS TO ARAFAT: FIGHT TERROR OR RELATIONS END

In December 2001, Congress overwhelmingly adopted a resolution urging President Bush to suspend "all relations with Yasir Arafat and the Palestinian Authority" unless the PA "destroys the infrastructure of Palestinian terrorist groups," "pursues and arrests terrorists whose incarceration has been called for by Israel," and "takes all necessary steps to end the ongoing Palestinian terrorist campaign."

ARAFAT CONTINUES TO PROMOTE DAILY TERROR ATTACKS

Instead of taking such steps, the PA continues to harbor terrorists (including killers of dozens of American citizens); refuses to confiscate the tens of thousands of weapons in the hands of the terrorists; and promotes hatred and violence against Israelis in the official PA media, schools, children's camps, and speeches by PA officials and PA-appointed clergymen. The PA's own police and security forces have carried out numerous terrorist attacks. And the terror against Israelis continues on a daily basis.

Now that the anti-terror steps stipulated by Congress—and by the Oslo accords—have not been carried out, despite Arafat's repeated promises to do so, we urge the Bush administration to suspend all relations with Yasir Arafat and the Palestinian Authority, just as the U.S. has done with regard to other terror-sponsoring regimes around the world. This will demonstrate to Arafat, and to all terror-sponsors, that there will be real consequences for their actions.

Morton A. Klein
National President
Zionist Organization of America

Irwin Hochberg
Past Chairman,
UJA-Federation of New York;
Member, National Commission,
Anti-Defamation League

Neal Sher, Esq.
Past National Executive Director
AIPAC

Dr. Munr Kazmir
Member of the Board,
American Jewish Congress;
Member, Executive Committee,
Republican Jewish Coalition

Dr. John C. Hagee
Worldwide TV Ministry;
Pastor, Cornerstone Church
San Antonio, TX

Rabbi Hershel Billet,
President
Rabbi Steven Dworken,
Executive V. P.
Rabbinical Council of America

Dr. David Hocking, President
Hope for Today Ministries

Stephen M. Flatow, Esq.
Chair, Alisa Flatow Memorial Fund

Dr. Alex Grobman
Past Director
Simon Wiesenthal Center

Robert Zweiman
National Commander
Jewish War Veterans of USA

Gary Erlbaum, Esq.
Member, Executive Committee
Jewish Federation of Philadelphia

Shoshana Cardin
Past Chair,
Conference of Presidents of Major
American Jewish Organizations

Richard D. Heideman, President
Daniel Marlaschin, Exec.V.P.
B'nai B'rith

Rev. Dr. Franklin Littell
Founding Board Member,
U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum;
Past Chair, Department of
Religion, Temple University

Hon. Jon Fox
Former Member of Congress (R-PA);
Former Board Member,
U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum

Nathan Lewin, Esq.
Hon. President, American Section,
International Association
of Jewish Lawyers & Jurists

Janet Parshall
Nationally Syndicated Talk Show Host

Sylvia Freyer
Associate Chairman of the Board
Zionist Organization of America

Richard A. Hellman
President, Christians' Israel
Public Action Campaign

Rabbi Simcha Krauss, President
Dr. Mandell Ganchrow
Executive Vice Chairman
Religious Zionists of America

Gerald Charnoff, Esq.
Officer of many national
Jewish organizations

Thomas (Ed) Steele
President, Promise Publishing

Leon Levy
Past Chair,
Conference of Presidents of Major
American Jewish Organizations

Rabbi Dr. Norman Lamm
President, Yeshiva University

Morris Amitay, Esq.
Past National Executive Director
AIPAC

Rabbi Joseph P. Sternstein
Past President
Jewish National Fund

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National Council of Young Israel

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Past President, Emunah of America

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Vice Chairman of the Board
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Gary Bauer, President
American Values

Dr. Walter Reich
Yitzhak Rabin Memorial Professor
of International Affairs & Ethics,
George Washington University;
Past Executive Director,
U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum

Rabbi Seymour Essrog
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Rose Mattus
Co-founder, Haagen-Dazs Ice Cream;
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Zionist Organization of America

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Professor of International Law
Cardozo Law School

Theodore Beckett
President, Foundation for Israel

Rabbi Fabian Schonfeld
Past President
Rabbinical Council of America

Marlin Maddoux
Host, "Point of View" Talk Show,
USA Television Network

Rabbi Herschel Schachter
Past Chair,
Conference of Presidents of Major
American Jewish Organizations

Michael D. Little
President and CEO
Christian Broadcasting Network

Rabbi Dr. Moshe Tendler
Professor of Medical Ethics
and Talmudic Law
Yeshiva University

Hon. Matt Salmon
Former Member of Congress (R-AZ)

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Zionist Organization of America

Henry Schwartz
National Vice President
Zionist Organization of America

Herb Swarzman
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Ed McAteer
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Member, Board of Trustees
Jewish Federation of Philadelphia

James Rapp
Founding Secretary, American
Gathering of Holocaust Survivors

Stanley Rosenberg, Esq.
Member of the Board
Orthodox Union

Jack Friedler
President, Friends of Jerusalem

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FOR MORE INFORMATION ABOUT ARAFAT AND THE PA, VISIT WWW.ZOA.ORG

For a free copy of the Zionist Organization of America's powerful expose, *Arafat's Culture of Hatred and Violence,* contact the ZOA at tel: 212-481-1500 / fax: 212-481-1515 / e-mail: email@zoa.org / 4 East 34 Street, New York, NY 10016

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the weekly Standard

Bush's War Budget

"I'm one of the hawks . . . when it comes to defense," says Senator Robert C. Byrd with a straight face. "But I'm becoming a little nervous as I hear that we're going to spend more and more and more on the military." That was Byrd's reaction to the gratifying news that President Bush has decided to seek a $38 billion increase in defense spending for Fiscal Year 2003, with another $10 billion as a "war reserve." Other Senate Democrats are apparently upset, too, and are expressing "heavy skepticism" about the "huge" defense increase. Whether they plan to mount an attack on Bush's proposal remains to be seen. Senate majority leader and presidential candidate Thomas Daschle last week offered this bit of plain speaking: "We recognize that we're in very difficult, national crisis circumstances, and we've got to understand the budgetary implications of that situation."

Maybe this will help, Senator. The "budgetary implications" of the present "situation" are as follows: We are currently engaged in a wide-ranging, open-ended war to defend Western civilization from terrorist groups and nations that want to destroy our people, our cities, and our way of life with weapons of mass destruction. In the coming months and years this war will require the U.S. armed forces to fight wars both big and small in a variety of different theaters—in East Asia and Central Asia, in the Persian Gulf, in the Horn of Africa, and who knows where else—and sometimes in more than one place simultaneously. Victory in the larger war will require not only that the United States rid other countries of dangerous terrorists and the governments that support them, but that we also take on the difficult task of providing long-term security afterward, to allow nation-building to proceed in those countries where terrorists once found haven.

All this will in turn require equipping our armed forces with far more of the precision-guided munitions, aerial drones, and other high-tech weaponry that have given the United States such a decisive, and life-saving, advantage in modern warfare—as well as the support and training that make the U.S. military the envy of the world. It will require increasing the number of men and women under arms. And it will require, even as we wage the present struggle, that we continue pursuing innovations in weaponry and the art of fighting modern war, so that we can be better prepared for the unknown dangers that lurk over the horizon. Meanwhile, the rest of America's international security obligations, in Europe and Asia and the Middle East, remain intact and important.

This all means spending more on the military. If that makes Democrats such as Sen. Byrd nervous, we would make another point about the "budgetary implications" of the current "situation": The shortfalls and inadequacies in the defense budget, all of which President Bush is now hurriedly trying to repair, are the direct consequence of eight years of appalling neglect of our military by the Clinton administration and by the Congress.

Maybe it's too much to expect that some leading Democrats will understand why the war on terrorism requires increases in the defense budget (prominent exceptions are Sen. Joseph Lieberman and Rep. Norman Dicks). But we are confident the American people do understand. And, thankfully, there is a president in the White House willing to lead the way.

President Bush's proposed defense increase may prove to be one of the most significant decisions of his presidency. The increase, in addition to being sorely needed by our busy but depleted armed forces, speaks volumes about the president's commitment to the war on terrorism. Obviously, Bush has rejected the advice of some political advisers that he turn his emphasis away from the war and back to domestic issues.

Obviously, too, the president and his foreign policy team recognize that there's no quick and easy exit from Afghanistan. This past week Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld indicated U.S. troops may remain there for some time, providing essential high-powered security as the difficult task of establishing and strengthening that nation's government and economy goes forward. This is a subtle shift from the get-in and then get-out approach that seemed to be prevailing before. It's a shift that Democrats should welcome, and be willing to pay for.

And then there's the matter of Iraq. There's reason to believe that President Bush's budget proposal is partly

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designed to pay for Phase 2 of the war. A little-discussed fact is that the Pentagon's stocks of precision-guided munitions, unmanned reconnaissance drones, communications gear, and other weapons and equipment essential to fighting an Afghan-style high-tech war have all been seriously depleted over the past four months. (Again, we can't help pointing out that these shortfalls are the product of years of inadequate funding.) The disturbing truth is that if the president decided to attack Iraq tomorrow, the U.S. military might not have all it needs to carry out the job in the most effective possible way. We're already having to replenish materiel. The new defense budget is aimed at making sure there are no such shortfalls in the future.

And here's a heads-up for Democrats and Republican budget hawks: Bush's latest proposed increase is just the beginning. There is no one-year "bump" that can repair the problems of a decade of underfunding the military. After September 11, no one can any longer doubt that dire threats exist in the world, or deny that a strong American military is the sine qua non for meeting and defeating those threats. What will be required, therefore, is a steady, sustained increase in defense spending, this year, next year, and the year after that.

Last July, Rumsfeld's deputy Paul Wolfowitz boldly warned Congress that it was "reckless to press our luck or gamble with our children's future" by spending so little on defense. He was right. And President Bush is right to propose a defense budget that, for the first time in a decade, sets us on a path to secure that future.

—Robert Kagan and William Kristol

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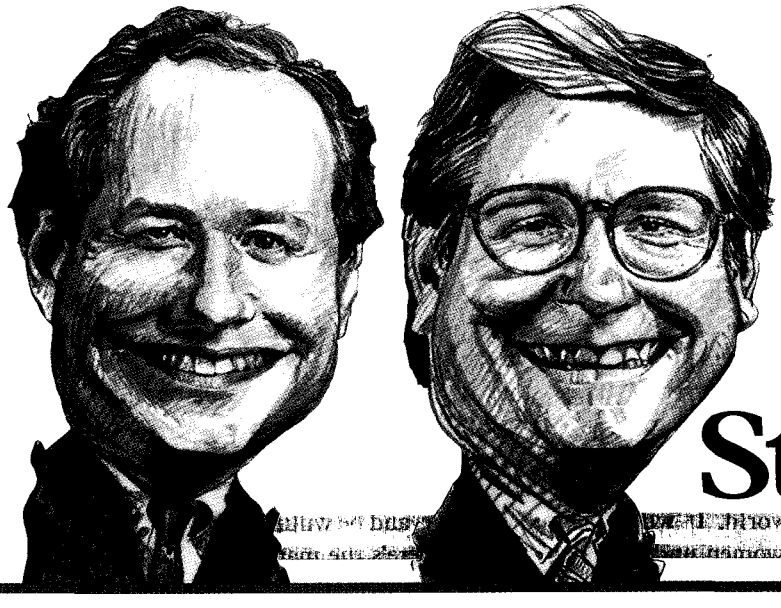

the weekly Standard

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Kass Warfare

The president's bioethics council enters the cloning fray. BY ANDREW FERGUSON

THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON Bioethics began its first public session on January 17, in a dreary ballroom of the L'Enfant Plaza Hotel, a pre-postmodern pile of orange stucco set astride an expressway off-ramp in southwest Washington, D.C. Leon Kass, the University of Chicago bioethicist selected by President Bush to be the council's chairman, opened the session with a brief assessment of the country's change in mood since September 11.

"In numerous if subtle ways," Kass said, "one feels a palpable increase in America's moral seriousness, . . . a fresh breeze of sensible moral judgment, clearing away the fog of unthinking and easy-going relativism. . . .

"It has been a long time," he continued, "since the climate and mood of the country was this hospitable for serious moral reflection."

Kass is blessed with a somber baritone that carries an unmistakable authority quite apart from his well-deserved reputation as a thinker. And as I sat in the ballroom audience I might have been moved to agree with him, almost, had someone not slipped me a story from that morning's *Washington Post*.

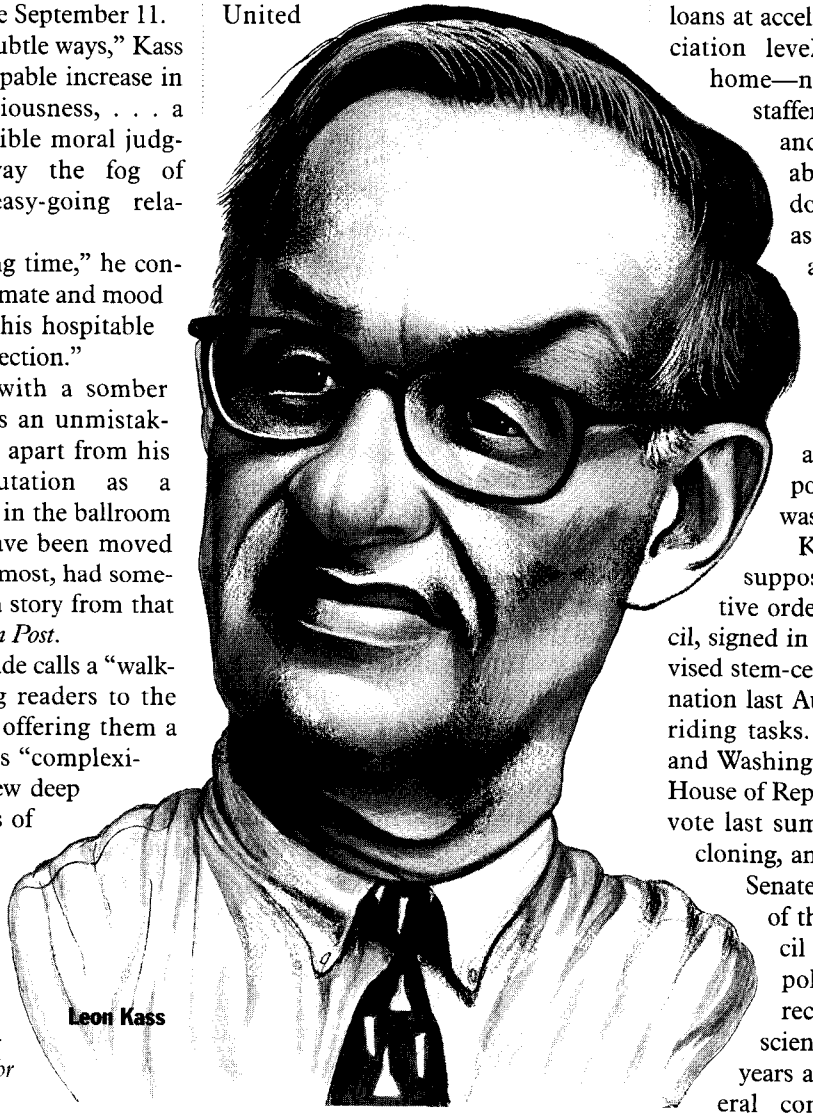
It was what the trade calls a "walk-up," a story alerting readers to the council's debut and offering them a sense of the subject's "complexity." The reporter drew deep from the wellsprings of philosophy, sociology, geopolitics—all that stuff.

"The council," wrote the reporter, "will be navigating a scientific and ethical landscape significantly more complex than the one that existed [a few months ago]. In November, researchers announced that they had made the first human embryo clones, giving immediacy to warnings by *religious conservatives* [my italics] and others that science is no longer serving the nation's moral will. At the same time, the United States was fighting a war to free a faraway nation from the grip of *religious conservatives* . . . "

The story gave a good sense of how easy it is for Washington reporters to get bogged down in complexity—Taliban abroad, Taliban at home, who can tell which is which?—but it also served as a standing rebuke to Kass's optimism. Moral seriousness? Tell it to the *Post*, professor.

And it's not just the *Post*, of course. Bioethics—falling at the point where the oldest questions of philosophy intersect with the most recent advances of biological research—has brought all of political Washington out of its depth. Politicians and bureaucrats who came to town with no grander goal than snatching a few more nonrecourse rural electrification loans at accelerated submarket depreciation levels for the gang back home—not to mention the staffers who help them do that and the reporters who write about them when they do—are suddenly being asked, thanks to cloning and stem-cell research and the galloping progress of genetics, to wrestle with definitions of personhood, the boundaries of human aspiration, and the purpose of life. None of these was in the job description.

Kass and his council are supposed to help. The executive order authorizing the council, signed in the wake of Bush's televised stem-cell research speech to the nation last August, gives it two overriding tasks. The first is pragmatic and Washington-like. In light of the House of Representatives' unanimous vote last summer to ban all human cloning, and in anticipation of the Senate's coming consideration of the House ban, the council is to examine the public policy implications of recent advances in genetic science. Over the past twenty years at least a half dozen federal commissions have been



Leon Kass

Illustration by Earl Keleny

Andrew Ferguson is a contributing editor to THE WEEKLY STANDARD *and a columnist for Bloomberg News.*

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impaneled for similar purposes; in all cases their recommendations have been written up, published, admired, and forgotten.

The council's second charge, however, is unique: "to undertake fundamental inquiry into the human and moral significance" of the same issues—to move beyond the narrow domain of public policy and make these issues the subject, as Kass says, of serious moral reflection.

This makes the council a body without precedent in Washington's history, our first National Endowment for Rumination. Conferring with Kass, the White House selected members from most of the thinking professions: four law professors, four research scientists, three philosophers, a sociologist, two political scientists, a theologian, a psychiatrist, and even a newspaper columnist, albeit one with psychiatric training, a Pulitzer Prize, and a medical degree (Charles Krauthammer). The panel will meet publicly six to eight times a year, for two days at a stretch. The January sessions fairly flew by, particularly judged against the pace of Commerce committee hearings. They began on a suitably odd note, with a discussion of Nathaniel Hawthorne's "The Birthmark," a short story written in 1846.

"I wanted to begin with a short story for several reasons," Kass told reporters before the session began. "I want to show that on these questions there are resources available to us that go far beyond the articles I or other commission members may write in the specialized journals. These are fundamental human questions that are being addressed.

"And I wanted the story to force us out of our respective disciplines, and begin conversing with one another, not in our professional identities as scientists or humanists, but as human beings."

And it worked, sort of. The ensuing discussion showed, at the very least, that the council members are divided in their approach to bioethical problems not merely in their professional roles but in their personal dispositions.

"The Birthmark" is a gothic parable, one of several cautionary tales Hawthorne wrote about scientific arrogance and amorality. It tells of a "man of science," called Aylmer, who marries a beautiful woman, Georgiana, who carries on her left cheek an almost imperceptible birthmark. "Seeing her otherwise so perfect, he found this one defect grow more and more intolerable. . . . It was the fatal flaw of humanity which Nature, in one shape or another, stamps ineffaceably on all her productions, either to imply that they are temporary and finite, or that their perfection must be wrought by toil and pain."

Aylmer retreats to his laboratory and prepares a treatment that will remove the birthmark. Georgiana submits, and dies from his attempt to render her flawless.

Hawthorne's point, and Kass's, isn't hard to discern: Our birth, our entry into life itself, marks us with an "imperfection," our finitude if nothing else, and any attempt to remove us from that limitation will have the unintended consequence of destroying what we hope to perfect. The application of the story to current scientific Utopianism, whose enthusiasts promise the conquest of disease and even mortality, isn't hard to discern, either. "The Birthmark," in fact, is a creative summary, in story form, of Kass's own critique of biogenetics.

In the council's discussion that first morning—studded with the long, uncomfortable silences and bursts of overlapping conversation familiar to anyone who's attended a graduate seminar—the scientists declined to be led to this easy conclusion about the nature of contemporary science.

Janet Rowley, a molecular biologist from the University of Chicago, seemed puzzled, if not quite offended, at the suggestion that the story had any relevance to bioethics.

"You can in no way equate what Aylmer does with science," she said. "He is not a scientist in the way he approaches his problem."

"I hang around with scientists all the time," said Daniel Foster, a physician-researcher at Texas Southwestern Medical School, "and I can tell you they don't have grandiose schemes to eliminate imperfections. They don't talk about perfection at all—they just want to help the community. They're nice people, you know.

"What happens in this story is not a model for bio-scientists. Real scientists set goals that are achievable. They are not trying to take over the world."

For the panel's scholars, however, most of whom share Kass's skepticism about the new science, the story was rich in ominous implication.

"It's important," said Robert George, a Princeton philosopher, "that we not move as a culture to the point where we identify the worth of a human being with his or her lack of defects. . . . Aylmer lost sight of persons as having *intrinsic* worth."

William May, an ethicist from Southern Methodist University, said that "The Birthmark" is a tale about the tension between a "transforming love" and an "accepting love," the urge to improve life versus "the desire to savor it."

Amid these colloquies the scientists mostly fell silent.

Mary Ann Glendon, a Harvard law professor, wondered at the motivation of Georgiana in submitting to Aylmer's therapy. "Aylmer worships a false god, and she worships Aylmer. I don't understand her."

"I'm speaking as a psychiatrist," responded Paul McHugh of Johns Hopkins Hospital, "and I can tell you, Mary Ann, not only do we understand it, we have a name for it! It's called 'identifying with the aggressor.'"

McHugh said he had read the story long ago. "When I read it as a teenager, I was horrified. I shuddered. When I read it as a psychiatrist, I began to *understand* Aylmer.

"I think my reaction as a teenager was better. Understanding too much can take away the shudder."

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Obliquely, McHugh was the first to raise what in the bioethical debates has come to be known, not very technically, as the "Yuck Factor"—the instinctive revulsion most people feel toward many prospective biomedical innovations, such as the screening of embryos for (say) sex selection or eye color, or the cloning of human beings for reproductive purposes. (The latest Gallup poll found that 88 percent of Americans disapprove of reproductive cloning.) Kass himself has written an anti-cloning manifesto called "The Wisdom of Repugnance." Skeptics count on this deep-seated, prerational revulsion to serve as a basis for strict government controls over the uses to which genetic science may be put.

As the council's deliberations progressed, however, and as the scientists and the scholars continued to talk past each other, it became clear that the Yuck Factor may be a flimsier reed on which to hang an argument than some anti-cloning skeptics hope. By the final session on the second day, Kass had abandoned for the time being his struggle to tether the conversation to such "fundamental" questions as "What is *human* about human procreation?" The agenda at last moved to a concrete discussion of cloning and public policy. And here the council reached a quick and unaccustomed unanimity. Every council member objected to cloning human beings for reproduction—"at this time," as Rowley, the molecular biologist, said.

The qualifying phrase is crucial. For the scientists, the Yuck Factor has less to do with moral intuition than simple safety. As the technology now stands, the creation of a human being through cloning would be highly perilous. To proceed with it under these circumstances would be a horror—or yucky, at the very least. For now a ban on reproductive cloning preserves the commonweal and the integrity of science. But, goes the implication, when the safety issues are resolved, the repugnance, on the part of the scientists anyway, will disappear too.

Moral intuitions like the Yuck Factor are subject to revision; they can even be overcome altogether. The Yale law professor Stephen Carter pointed out that "repugnance" was once the basis for laws against miscegenation. The repugnance is gone now, and so are the laws. Could a legal ban survive a similar shift in public intuitions about creating clones or designing babies to a parent's taste?

Probably not, which may lead Kass to continue to draw the council's work back to its second, philosophical task. He wants to see whether there's an argument lurking under the repugnance—a set of transmittable principles that can still be applied a century from now, when inarticulate disgust at certain kinds of genetic manipulation may no longer be sufficient to stifle the demands of science. It's an admirable project, brimming with democratic optimism. It assumes, for one thing, that we have indeed entered a new era of moral seriousness (the *Washington Post* notwithstanding). If Kass is right about that, then the president's council will continue to be not only the best show in town but the most consequential, too. ♦

Michael Ramirez

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Grading the Democrats

Four presidential wannabes, four orators, not a Pericles among them. BY DAVID BROOKS

IT'S TIME TO PLAY "Grade the Democrats." Four prominent Democrats—who are coincidentally all thinking of running for president—have delivered ambitious policy speeches in the past three weeks. Responsible citizens will want to know what is on their minds (without having to actually sit through the speeches themselves). Using the foolproof technology of the Pericleator, a device that measures speech quality, THE WEEKLY STANDARD has evaluated the addresses. The machine divides the evaluation into four categories and gives a 1-10 rating for each:

Wolf Factor: Does the speech contain at least one novel concept such as would attract the attention of Wolf Blitzer and other media gatekeepers?

Bartlett's Quotient: How good are the speech's soundbites?

Kuhnian Paradigm Points: Are there any daring policy ideas that could give the speaker a reputation for being a creative New Paradigm thinker?

New-Nixon Identity Reformulation Score: Does the speech upset preconceived notions about the speaker?

The Pericleator is a nonpartisan machine. It evaluates speeches for intelligence and presentation. It does not endorse or reject specific policy options.

"America's Economy: Rising To Our New Challenges" by Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle January 4, 2002

Wolf Factor: Daschle's theme in this speech is that the Democrats are the party of fiscal responsibility, while the Republicans are fiscally reckless. Daschle argues that Democrats are happy to embrace the principle of tax cuts, just not the sort of deficit-busting tax cut the administration rammed through Congress last year. Daschle's bold attack on the Bush tax cut earns him high Wolf points, especially since 12 Democrats supported the cuts. But in failing to call for a repeal of the tax cut, Daschle invites instant ridicule from the commentariat. Deduct points for cowardice and incoherence. On balance: 6 points.

Bartlett's Quotient: As prose, the speech is pedestrian, as befits Sen. Daschle's modest demeanor. (Message to speechwriter: If you are going to include stirring sentences such as "The highly successful Nunn-Lugar program should be extended to India and Pakistan," please explain what Nunn-Lugar is.) 2 points.

Kuhnian Paradigm Points: Daschle tries to put the burden of coming up with new ideas on the administration: "I am asking the president today to submit to Congress not simply a one-year budget proposal, but a long-term plan to restore economic growth." His own ideas include doubling civilian funding for R&D programs such as the National Science Foundation and supporting the idea of Trade Adjustment Assistance, which would retrain workers hurt by free trade, help them keep their health insurance, and compensate them for future wage losses—a potentially mammoth program. This is big-government daring dressed up as modest tinkering. 7 points.

New-Nixon Identity Reformulation Score: Daschle underlines our preconceptions. He has the beak of a budget hawk but the blubbery heart of a big-spending liberal. A neat combination if the creature can fly. 5 points.

Daschle total: 20 points.

"Winning the Wider War Against Terrorism" by Sen. Joe Lieberman January 14, 2002

Wolf Factor: Lieberman calls on the country to "launch a long-term geopolitical and ideological initiative—akin to the great campaign that won the Cold War." Lieberman says the strategy must: Complete the stabilization of Afghanistan and the destruction of al Qaeda. Force Syria and Iran to end support for Hamas and Islamic Jihad. Remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq. On the positive side, the United States should support democratic reforms and gender equality in the Arab world. Open Muslim economies with free trade pacts. Refund Radio Free Europe-type public education efforts. In short, Lieberman sketches out an ambitious global initiative. The speech did not win much press attention, though fault lies mostly with the media: 8 points.

Bartlett's Quotient: Lieberman quotes Churchill, MacArthur, and Gibbon and occasionally tries to piggyback on their eloquence: "Today, from Iraq in the Persian Gulf to terrorist camps in the mountains of Central Asia, from the sands of Somalia, Sudan and Saudi Arabia to cells in Singapore and Indonesia and Hamburg and London, the fanatical forces of Jihad are trying to build a 'theological iron curtain' to divide

David Brooks is a senior editor at THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

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the Muslim world from the rest of the globe—a Berlin Wall made from poverty and tyranny, and cemented by the mortar of hatred and violence." 6 points.

Kuhnian Paradigm Points: Lieberman gets credit for boldness in supporting unilateral action if necessary: "Of course it is better to build coalitions and act collaboratively, . . . but in this case, the unique threat to American security [posed] by Saddam Hussein's regime is so real, grave, and imminent that, even if no other nation were to stand with us, we must be prepared to act alone." 8 points.

New-Nixon Identity Reformulation Score: After wandering in the mushy wilderness while arm-in-arm with Al Gore, Lieberman repositions himself as the second coming of Scoop Jackson. He fixes himself as the rightward star in the Democratic firmament. 8 points.

Lieberman total: 30 points.

"Energy Security is American Security" by Sen. John F. Kerry January 22, 2002

Wolf Factor: Kerry attempts to lay out a realistic but bold energy strategy—one that is neither enviro-loony nor wedded to the status quo. The strategy, he says, should not reduce economic growth or diminish quality of life. It should be based on the realistic assumption that for the next 30 to 50 years, the United States will have to rely on fossil fuels. Nonetheless, Kerry believes the United States should begin the transition to cheaper, renewable, and abundant energy—a revolution akin to the computer revolution. He says America should set a goal of producing 20 percent of its energy from alternative and renewable sources by the year 2020. To do that, he supports shifting federal subsidies from oil and gas to wind, solar, and other alternatives. He supports tightening CAFE standards to force auto companies to improve fuel efficiency on SUVs. He supports federal subsidies in fuel cell research and clean coal technology. This is the sort of big approach that establishes Kerry as a serious spokesman on the issue. 8 points.

Bartlett's Quotient: John F. Kerry echoes a certain challenge the other JFK made to put a man on the moon, but doesn't aspire to eloquence. "I say the most responsible thing we can do is tap America's strengths, our markets, our ingenuity, our invention, our innovation and most importantly, our values to control our destiny and begin a long evolution to an energy world that benefits our security, our economy, and our environment." He's wordy. 4 points.

Kuhnian Paradigm Points: It is a big plan. It does encompass a multi-decade vision. It does offer a plausible road map. 8 points.

New-Nixon Identity Reformulation Score: Kerry goes to extraordinary lengths to show he is no New England solar-energy granola muncher: "Let me be clear. In offering these suggestions today, I am not proposing that we all drive small. I am not proposing that we mandate the use of public transit. I am not proposing that we somehow reduce our freedom to travel." He also stirs in a nice bit of foreign policy toughness—choke off the politically toxic Gulf states—into the mix. 8 points.

Kerry total: 28 points.

"The Long Look Ahead" by Rep. Richard Gephardt January 24, 2002

Wolf Factor: Gephardt says it is pointless to rehash the debate about the Bush tax cuts. The cuts have passed and it is foolish to mess with them during a recession. Instead, he suggests that the president convene a bipartisan economic growth summit at the White House (call Dick Darman!). At the summit, Gephardt says, leaders could discuss an "Apollo Project" to develop renewable energy solutions. He offers less detail than Kerry, but puts more emphasis on fuel cell vehicles. He says the United States should also double its investment in information technology but doesn't say who should do this or how. He also supports a slew of tax credits and deductions—for pension savings, for college tuition, for home purchases, for university-business partnerships, and such. He supports a homeland security trust fund to help states pay for security, and a federal program to detect nuclear weapons material. In short, Gephardt is all over the map offering a promiscuous grab bag of policy ideas. There's no theme and little punch. 4 points.

Bartlett's Quotient: "For all the uncertainty we face today, I would bet there are few Americans who would trade living in this time and place with anybody else." This doesn't pass for eloquence even by floor speech standards. 2 points.

Kuhnian Paradigm Points: Some of the ideas Gephardt endorses are relatively novel. He suggests merging the different private pension programs into one portable, national system. But most of his ideas are familiar or suddenly chic—such as his proposal to study ways the government can bring broadband to households at an affordable price. 4 points.

New-Nixon Identity Reformulation Score: Gephardt delivered the speech in front of the Democratic Leadership Council. This clearly is meant to signal his return to the center of the party after he spent the past decade squarely in the union camp. By rejecting Teddy Kennedy's call to freeze the Bush tax cuts, Gephardt does move in that direction. Nonetheless, the speech doesn't offer enough intellectual substance to reposition Gephardt one way or the other. It's the speech of a legislator, not a visionary. 5 points.

Gephardt total: 15 points. ♦

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Wrong Lessons from Enron

The scandal shouldn't help campaign finance reform—but it does. BY FRED BARNES

WHAT DOES IT MEAN to be Enronned? Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle coined the neologism for the narrow purpose of attacking President Bush for supposedly jeopardizing the Social Security system. For Washington it means being engulfed by the financial scandal. Congress has scheduled 11 full-dress hearings on the subject. The scandal has spilled over into other issues, dramatically reducing prospects for passage of Bush's energy plan—or any energy deregulation, for that matter. It has made Social Security reform impossible for the time being. And most important of all: It has moved the liberal version of campaign finance reform far closer to enactment.

The fight over election spending isn't over yet. But the Enron scandal has brought wildly favorable attention to liberal reformers. Their argument is irrational, but it is now accepted virtually as fact in the media. The reformers insist that private campaign contributions, and especially soft money donated by companies and well-heeled pressure groups, is corrupting. The bigger the contribution, the more favors the donor gets: That's the argument. Enron proves the opposite. The energy conglomerate and its officials lavishly aided the Bush campaign in 2000, but when they sought help from the Bush administration as Enron spiraled toward collapse, they got none. Their election donations bought them nothing.

Still, it was the Enron business that prompted two House Republicans and two Democrats to sign a discharge petition and force a floor vote on the issue. Since liberal campaign finance reform passed twice before (in 1997 and 1999) with 252 votes each time, approval by the House is now highly likely. One of the signers, GOP representative Tom Petri of Wisconsin, said the scandal "brings to life for a lot of people the concept of soft money. Until now this was an inside-the-Beltway game." The reform bill would ban soft money altogether. Of course donating soft money isn't a scandal. It's what the recipient does in response to getting the money that might be. Yes, Enron got access to Bush cabinet members and folks in Congress. But any large company or organization has easy access to Washington officialdom, whether or not it provides campaign money. In Enron's case, there's no evidence of any quid pro quo.

Mitch McConnell

AP / Wide World Photos

How might campaign finance reform be defeated or altered? The key is the Senate, not the House. Even House Republican whip Tom DeLay, who is fiercely opposed to the bill, is unlikely to muster enough votes to stop House passage. And once the House acts, there's bound to be a drive for Senate approval of an identical bill, replacing the measure the Senate has already passed. That would avoid a Senate-House conference and instead send the measure immediately to the president, who has indicated he would sign it. As the bills now stand, the Senate would raise the limit on "hard money" donations by an individual from $1,000 to $2,000. The House would leave it at $1,000. Another option is for the House to approve the Senate bill, but that probably won't happen because most campaign finance reformers prefer the House bill.

This leaves the ball in the Senate's court, where Republican senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky is the leading foe of campaign finance reform. His goal is to make sure there is a House-Senate conference at which the differing measures would be melded into one—and the prospects for making changes would be greatest. When the Senate passed its version, 41 senators voted no. That's sufficient to block passage of a new bill identical to the House's. So McConnell is bent on holding the 41 together as a bloc opposed to a new bill, assuring a conference later this year.

"A number of things could happen" there, says McConnell. It is possible the House-Senate conference would fail to reach an agreement. More likely, the bill would undergo significant alteration. For example, hard money donations could be indexed for inflation (since 1975),

Fred Barnes is executive editor of THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

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boosting the limit to $3,000. Or soft money could be capped at, say, $60,000 per election cycle, as GOP senator Chuck Hagel of Nebraska has proposed. The idea behind these is to soften the impact of reform.

A conference would provide something else: a role for the White House. The president would have leverage because he must sign (or not) whatever bill emerges. And Bush is bound to be concerned about a bill that bars all soft money. In 2000, roughly $100 million in soft money was used in issue advocacy ads to support his presidential campaign. If that's gone, such TV spots will be left up to independent expenditure groups. Liberal groups backing the Democratic nominee spent far more than conservative groups on issue ads in 2000, and they're expected to do so again in 2004. Without soft money, then, Bush might be at a disadvantage in his bid for reelection. His campaign reform preference is to eliminate *corporate* soft money donations, but not all soft money gifts. In the privacy of a conference, the White House would surely push for this or perhaps a cap.

Scandals often send Congress into a tizzy, and Enron is no exception. Republicans are desperate to show they aren't tools of big business. Democrats can't figure out what the scandal is. First it was the administration's help for Enron. When that didn't materialize, the scandal was the lack of help for Enron employees. That, too, didn't catch on, so the Democratic charge became that Bush let Enron dictate his energy policy. But the Bush policy is the conventional conservative approach with a bow or two to environmentalists. House Minority Leader Dick Gephardt has offered the looniest interpretation. The scandal may be what the administration "avoided doing because it was concerned that campaign contributions created the appearance of conflict." In other words, Enron's campaign contributions assured it would have no influence at all. If that's true, reformers should be seeking less campaign finance reform, not more. ♦

China's Persecution Complex

They think we're using September 11 to encircle them. BY TOM DONNELLY

WITH PRESIDENT BUSH due to travel to Beijing on February 21, Chinese leaders have embarked on a pre-summit charm offensive. Much of this warming of relations has a ritual quality; the release of a Chinese political prisoner with ties to the United States is becoming the traditional prelude to a meeting between American and Chinese presidents.

But China clearly is approaching this summit with a special urgency. Beijing has just pledged $150 million to help rebuild Afghanistan, and so far has made little fuss over the discovery of bugging devices aboard the U.S.-made airplane intended to serve as President Jiang Zemin's private jet. Even more extraordinary, Foreign Minister Qian Qichen went so far as to invite members of Taiwan's fiercely democratic ruling party—previously denounced as "splittists" and "separatists"—for a friendly visit.

Two major events account for China's current smiling face and for the high stakes at the upcoming summit. First, Beijing is absorbed in the long drama of the succession to Jiang Zemin. This process is planned to play out over several years. And Jiang's heir apparent, Hu Jintao, has relatively little foreign policy experience—or backing among the Chinese military.

Second, the events of September 11 have energized the United States and the Bush administration to play a more assertive role internationally, in effect challenging China's strategy for becoming a great power. Indeed, from Beijing's point of view, other than the Taliban, the People's Republic of China has been the biggest loser thus far in the war on terrorism.

"Dispatching Troops to Afghanistan by the United States Is Tantamount to Sticking a Dagger in China's Back!" wails a headline in the Chinese press in Hong Kong. "To consolidate and establish its position as the sole global hegemon," the article asserts, the Bush administration has a three-pronged strategy: "to occupy Afghanistan militarily, support a pro-U.S. puppet regime and stick a dagger in China's back" by creating "a containing chain along east China."

This piece, which appeared less than a week after the September 11 attacks, typifies Chinese fears about where the war on terrorism might lead: to the strategic encirclement of Beijing. "If the United States should attack and occupy Afghanistan," the article continues, "it would impose an extremely big threat to the national security of China, and its objectives of modernization and complete national reunification"—such as gaining control of Taiwan—"would be seriously affected. It can be said that if the United States captured Afghanistan at one stroke, it would directly check and disrupt China's . . . major strategic objectives in the new century."

The initial hysteria of the Chinese popular press has subsided, reflecting both the decision of Chinese leaders to try to exploit American policy to repress China's own Muslim minorities and their recognition that world public opinion sided with the United States. But fears of American encir-

Tom Donnelly is deputy executive director of the Project for a New American Century.

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clement and containment of China have remained a hot topic among Chinese strategists and foreign policy analysts. An essay on the *People's Daily* website warns that the war on terrorism gives the United States an "excuse" to "surround and contain China. The U.S. will absolutely not give up such a good opportunity."

Through Beijing's eyes, any recent tour of the strategic horizon is bleak and getting bleaker. Russia has permitted American overflights and now basing in former Soviet republics; India looks for a long-term strategic partnership with the United States and has reacted calmly to terrorist attacks by Islamic radicals; Pakistani president Pervez Musharraf has taken extraordinary internal risks to support U.S. policy; and Japan has played a larger military role. While Taiwan has played no significant role in the war in Afghanistan, recent elections on the island cemented the rule of the anti-reunification Democratic Progressive party. And the war on terrorism is bringing the United States closer to the Philippines—and even perhaps to Indonesia and Malaysia.

The presence of American troops in Central Asia is especially surprising and galling to the Chinese. Not only are U.S. troops going to be in Afghanistan and Pakistan for some time, but the Pentagon recently admitted that it "is preparing a military presence in Central Asia that could last for years," according to the *New York Times*. And the Pentagon is being remarkably frank about what will surely reinforce Beijing's fears of containment. The bases' "function may be more political than military," Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz says. Revealing plans for periodic training exercises in the region, Wolfowitz contends that the larger purpose is to "send a message to everybody . . . that we have a capacity to come back in and will come back in—we're not just going to forget about [the region]."

This message is widely received in China, notably among foreign policy elites. "[T]he action the United States and other countries have taken and will continue to take in the wake of September 11 is of greater significance to the world than the terrorist bombings themselves," writes Jiang Lingfei, a professor of international relations at the Chinese University of National Defense, in the January 2 issue of *Beijing Review*.

"The aim of U.S. global strategy in these early years of the 21st century," argues analyst Zhao Linglin in the Beijing-owned Hong Kong newspaper *Ta Kung Pao*, "is to politically integrate the whole world and act as sole world leader. The fight against terrorism has given the United States a good reason to fulfill this claim. Since the end of the Cold War, the United States has gradually expanded its share of influence by launching a series of wars. After the Gulf War of 1991, it assumed control over the Middle East; after the war in Kosovo, it assumed control over East Europe; and over Central Asia through the anti-terrorism war in Afghanistan. Furthermore, after each war, the United States enlarged its pool of allies and organized more and more coalitions."

The U.S. appetite for allies is frustrating China's attempts to balance America's growing global power. In Russia, the apparent westward tilt of Vladimir Putin since September 11 has thrown the Chinese for a loop, calling into question the strategic partnership developed during Boris Yeltsin's rule and nurtured into Putin's term.

The Chinese are particularly flummoxed by Russia's passivity in the face of the Bush administration's plans to withdraw from the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and to build a limited global missile defense. Liu Jianfei, a member of the Institute on International Affairs at the Chinese Communist party's important Central Party School, believes that this "undermines the current strategic equilibrium, causing other countries to lose their nuclear deterrence, and at the same time enables the United States to possess absolute superiority in military power . . . and thereby lay down a solid material foundation for building unipolar hegemonism." In reality, the Chinese know well that limited U.S. missile defenses will have little effect on the large Russian nuclear deterrent, while calling into question the effectiveness of Beijing's small arsenal of fewer than two dozen missiles.

China's plan to manipulate the levers of power in South Asia by exploiting the rivalry between Pakistan and India also has all but collapsed. For more than a decade, Beijing paid court to the fractured regime in Islamabad, selling it medium-range missiles and cozying up to anti-American elements in the armed forces. When the Bush administration sent Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage to India to discuss a new strategic partnership with New Delhi, the Chinese concern for Pakistan became even greater.

But President Musharraf has seized upon the war in Afghanistan to rebuild ties to the United States and move against the Islamic extremists who are his domestic opposition. One of the few things that India and Pakistan now agree on is that the United States should remain in the region. "I don't think America can give up its Central Asian presence now," Indian foreign minister Jaswant Singh told the *Washington Post*'s Jim Hoagland. Musharraf agreed: "'The U.S. presence in the region must remain as long' as it is needed."

Nor is China having much luck in East Asia, where its obvious ambitions are provoking thinly veiled hostility. In Tokyo, the Koizumi government is accelerating progress toward the goals of a more active alliance with the United States and the reassertion of Japanese geopolitical and military influence more commensurate with its wealth. The Chinese see this and don't like it.

And naturally, the consolidation of power by Chen Shui-bian's Democratic Progressive party in Taiwan's

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December elections is a tremendous setback to Beijing's hopes for "reunification." China's strategy of military intimidation and its attempts to appeal to Taipei businessmen anxious for an increased presence on the mainland are backfiring. Although the DPP government is unlikely to declare independence, even small assertions of Taiwanese autonomy—such as the decision in mid-January to add the words "Issued in Taiwan" to the cover of Taiwanese passports—provoke hostility in Beijing. And President Bush's pledge to "do whatever it takes" to defend Taiwan in the event of a Chinese attack made it clear that the United States views the island as a key to U.S. security in the Pacific.

Add to all this the bitter fact that the United States with its ever-expanding "pool of allies," while continuing to contain China in South Asia and East Asia, is building its influence in Central Asia. Writes Deng Hou, Eastern Europe and Central Asia director at the China Institute on International Issues, "By using anti-terrorism as the excuse to enter Central Asia, the United States has gained the upper hand in the bid to control Central Asia."

To its credit, the administration thus far has refused to trim its sails to appease Beijing. It has rejected attempts to equate the Uighurs with the Taliban or al Qaeda, for example, and has refused to lift post-Tiananmen sanctions that would improve Chinese military capabilities in Xinjiang. Chinese charm offensives, of course, have proved to be siren songs to American presidents since Richard Nixon, and the foreign policy establishment will be pushing hard to "normalize" relations with Beijing.

It is the defense of our people, our principles, and our genuine security interests that has brought American and allied troops to China's borders—this is now the "normal" state of affairs. While Beijing may see U.S. power closing in, the Bush administration cannot retreat to the pre-September 11 status quo. ♦

Khartoum Violence

With friends like Sudan . . .

BY ELI J. LAKE

Khartoum

WHEN CIA AGENTS landed here in June 2000 to begin what Washington assumed would be secret counterterrorism cooperation with Sudan, the Sudanese foreign minister held a press conference announcing their arrival.

Mustafa Osman Ismail says American officials asked him to conceal the CIA's presence from the public. But he told them that would be impossible. "The media here is fully free," he maintains. "That's why I went on the TV and said, 'You have to know that there is an American security team and they are here, moving freely, exchanging information and cooperating with our security people.'"

Leaving aside Ismail's assertion that his country's press is free (on January 16, the editor of the largest English language opposition paper was fined approximately 1,500,000 Sudanese dinars, about $6,000, for printing an article on slave raids in the south), the notion that Sudan's government is fighting terrorism is peculiar. If terrorism is the deliberate targeting of noncombatants, then a strong case can be made that Sudan's military is itself a terrorist entity.

The Sudanese air force, not to mention the government-sponsored paramilitary groups, makes no distinction in practice between civilians and rebel soldiers. Government forces have bombed marketplaces, hospitals, churches, and schools in their nearly 19-year civil war with the Sudan People's Liberation Army. Scott Hughett, the Africa director for Rev. Franklin Graham's relief organization Samaritan's Purse, said in an interview from Nairobi earlier this month that he had seen the bomb damage himself in the south in a hospital his organization helped found in Lui. "The effect of the bombing is not so much the damage of the bombs themselves, but the terror it causes in the area. Children miss school, sick people are afraid to go to clinics."

The government predictably denies its culpability. "It is quite possible that when you bombard a certain area, bombs stray into attacking civilian installations," explained Dr. Ghazi Salah el-Din Atabani, an adviser to President Omar Hassan al-Bashir on the civil war. "That's a possibility, that happens all over the world. What I'm saying is there is no deliberate policy by the Sudanese government to target civilian installations or civilian populations."

But the adviser's words do not square with facts on the ground. In October, Sudanese fighters accompanying World Food Program planes to the western Bahr Ghazel region dropped bombs on villagers as they approached sacks of food dropped only minutes before, according to western aid workers and U.S. officials. Despite recent incursions into the area by the Sudan People's Liberation Army, Khartoum had approved this food drop ahead of time, making it highly unlikely that the bombardment was accidental. Indeed, the El Obeid airstrip where the World Food Program loads its single-propeller planes with food is also where the military packs Russian-made Antonovs with 500-pound iron gravity bombs for missions in the surrounding areas.

On his way back from the SPLA rebel compound in the south, President Bush's special envoy for peace in Sudan, former senator John Danforth, saw the Antonovs being loaded at El Obeid. In his four-day tour of the country, Danforth had hoped to con-

Eli J. Lake, State Department correspondent for UPI, accompanied John Danforth on his recent trip to Sudan.

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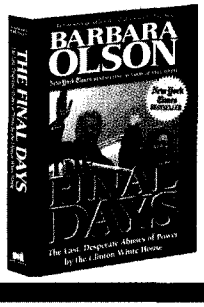

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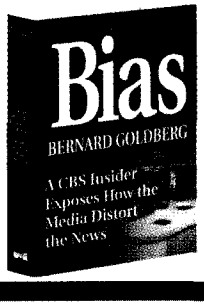

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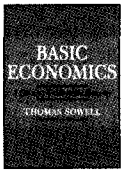

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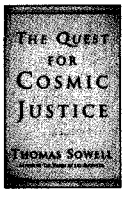

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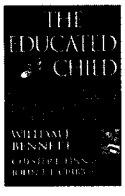

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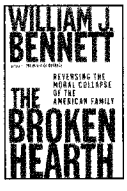

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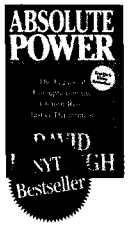

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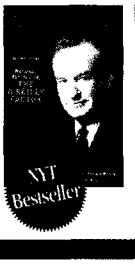

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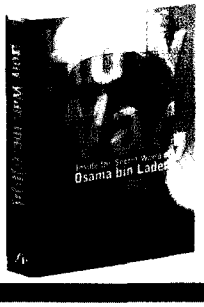

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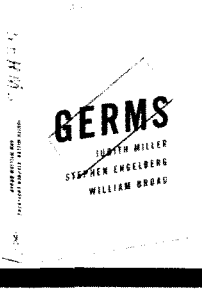

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A Sudanese farmer loads his camel with sacks of air-dropped food.

vince the government to allow outside monitors into Sudan to verify whether civilian areas were being targeted. The Sudanese refused. At a press conference before leaving Khartoum, he said he had made no progress on this issue.

Danforth's report to the president, due this spring, will offer recommendations on whether Washington can help end the civil war. But U.S. engagement in Sudan is likely to hinge on whether Khartoum's security forces cooperate with CIA agents like those outed by the foreign minister two Junes past.

On this score, the jury is still out. U.S. officials say Sudanese authorities have arrested between 28 and 30 members of the al Qaeda terrorist network since the September 11 attacks in New York and northern Virginia. American interrogators, according to these sources, were invited to question them.

But U.S. officials also caution not to read too much into this. Ghazi Suleiman, a former economics minister for Sudan, now a human rights lawyer in Khartoum, told me (and U.S. officials confirm) that those arrested in September were low or mid-level members of an organization that kept most of its operatives in the dark about the scope of the 9/11 mission. "They were caterers and small business people," the lawyer said.

And Suleiman is in a position to know. He represents Hassan al-Turabi, a former speaker of the parliament currently under house arrest and the man who invited Osama bin Laden to Sudan, where he lived from 1991 to 1996. Turabi was arrested in February 2001 for attempting to undermine the government when he signed a memo pledging to cooperate with the leader of the Sudan People's Liberation Army, John Garang.

Suleiman, who has been arrested several times himself, said, "The government is pragmatic. As long as the Americans do not touch its sovereignty, it will give them anything they want, provided [the present leaders] stay in power."

But therein lies Sudan's dilemma. The path of counterterror cooperation may end up implicating leading members of the government. While Danforth was in Khartoum, Bashir was deciding whether a key suspect behind the 1995 assassination attempt on Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak should be sent to Cairo for questioning at the request of the Egyptians. The man, according to diplomatic sources, may also have information regarding the 1998 bombing of the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. More important to Bashir, he may finger members of the present cabinet if he is questioned away from Khartoum.

The possibility of senior members of Bashir's government being implicated is a real one. Many members of the recently splintered National Islamic Front, the group that steered Khartoum toward embracing terror as state policy in the early 1990s, remain in power, including Vice President Ali Uthman Muhammad Taha. How far will Bashir go in cooperating against terrorism if it threatens the survival of his regime?

Danforth may have heard the answer to this question on his peace mission. If a government is unwilling to stop terrorism against its own people, how can it possibly be a reliable ally against the international variety? ♦

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Does Human Nature Have a Future?

The end of history, Bobos, and biotechnology

By Peter Augustine Lawler

Human nature—the very idea of a human nature—has been under assault for centuries. That philosophical, historical, and anthropological attack is now fading, and end-of-history theorists, followed by sociobiologists, have come riding to human nature's defense. But they are curious defenders. Neither the alleged end of history, nor the supposed truths of sociobiology, seem to provide any real grounding for what is distinctively human in nature. Indeed, talk about the end of history seems merely a prologue to biotechnological developments that threaten to transform—or even eradicate—human nature as we have known it. Can—and should—that transformation be resisted? Does human nature have a future?

I

First of all, does human nature even exist? That it does was the thought of philosophers from Plato to John Locke. Nature, they claimed, provides a standard by which distinctively human behavior can be judged. But philosophers at least from the time of Rousseau have denied the reality of this standard. They have distinguished between subhuman nature and human freedom. What is natural is not human. And what is human is not natural.

According to this view, there is no such thing as a distinctively human nature. So while it is true, for example, that we human beings have bodies and to some extent are governed by instinct, even our basic instincts are affected by our freedom. Birds do it, bees do it, and we do it. But we do it differently. Human sex is different from winged sex because it is mixed up with human freedom. Human sex is far less connected to the necessity of reproduction than is that of other animals. Human beings pervert nature even when they are doing what seems to come naturally. We are, from nature's view, often kinky. By practicing safe sex, for example, we show our distinctively human freedom. No other animal uses condoms. In our freedom, we can think up all kinds of ways to satisfy our strange desire to rut without reproducing. Surely the separation of the bare act from begetting is not natural.

So our anthropologists and sociologists and postmodernists and deconstructionists—the critics of "human nature"—say that there is no such thing as human sex. That's why they speak not of sex, but of gender. Distinctions between the sexes are, humanly speaking, insignificant. What's human is our free, social construction of gender. Once we realize that gender is within our control and is barely limited by nature, then we can change it however we please. Classes in gender studies are all about freeing women and homosexuals not from nature but from the willful oppression of heterosexual men. All that we have wrongly called "natural," so we are taught, has really been socially constructed by men or heterosexuals. Because no human sexual activity is really natural, everything we do should be regarded as an equally free assertion of human freedom. Most education in the social sciences and humanities today is dedicated to the proposition that human beings are free to create themselves—to "liberate" themselves—however they please. All that we have ascribed to "human nature" is in fact "history," what we have made for ourselves. And our future can be anything we liberated human beings choose to make for ourselves.

II

Or can it be? If human freedom is historical, if men have made their history, can they really keep on freely doing so? If history had a beginning, mustn't it have an end? Perhaps we are not at the dawn of an era of radical freedom, but rather at the end of history. History ends

Peter Augustine Lawler is Dana Professor of Government at Berry College, and author of the forthcoming Aliens in America: The Strange Truth About Our Souls *(ISI Books).*

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because human beings finally have satisfied their distinctively human desires through their distinctively human work.

The end of history would seem to have arrived, in particular, because the principle of liberal democracy has triumphed: All human beings are now recognized as free and equal beings by those in the know everywhere in the world. In addition, more and more human beings now live contentedly in freedom while doing very little work. There appears to be nothing really new for human beings to do. We have achieved a sort of paradise of laziness and luxury. Even our Islamic enemies—who can and will use our technological success against us to cause much death and destruction—have no real chance of derailing our fundamental accomplishments. They act, the end-of-history theorists say, fundamentally out of envy, and they present no credible alternative to our liberal democracy.

If human beings are historical beings, and history has ended, it makes sense to say we have become just like all the other animals again. Indeed, both the wise and the foolish—the right and the left, Allan Bloom and Woody Allen—observe or claim that the most sophisticated Americans are no longer moved by love and death. And many others have noticed that Americans now prefer comfort to truth. Feel-good therapy has replaced the genuine desire to know oneself. According to sociologist James Davison Hunter, the view that it is more important to feel good than to be good has even infused itself in most of our religious musings.

And the new model Americans—the bourgeois bohemians, or Bobos, as David Brooks describes them—even claim to have reconciled the modern conflict between bohemian self-expression and bourgeois productivity. They manage to work hard and to have countercultural tastes without being in any way alienated from their social or political world, without yearning for a life better than the one they now have. There is nothing in Bobos' souls that keeps them from being comfortable and productive. They seem not at all disordered by the human passions connected with love and death. They seem to be clever and tasteful animals and little more. Bobos surely have retained some human distinctiveness—no other animal goes to Starbucks—but perhaps far less than meets the eye.

Still, if history is ending, if all is not flux or meaningless freedom, then human beings do have a nature of a sort. But of a human sort? The apparent end of history has led to a comeback for the idea of nature—but perhaps not *human* nature. The most sophisticated and avant-garde talk today is about nature. It's the hard-headed scientific discourse of evolutionary biology or sociobiology, which scorns the woolly-headed postmodernist chatter about human liberation. The sociobiologists believe they *know* that the idea of human freedom from nature is an illusion. Our hopes and happiness are, we are told, largely determined by our genes. We turn out to be the most clever of animals, with bigger brains, but ones that are used for nothing more than calculation and manipulation. We are really qualitatively no different from other animals.

The sociobiological return to nature consists in the recognition of what is required for us to live comfortably and productively as a certain kind of social animal. The family can in this way be rescued from the assault of the liberationists. Families, the evidence tells us, do a better job of raising kids than the alternatives, and it's good for the species for children to be raised well. Religion is also back; it's a great source of comfort and socialization for social beings. According to the sociobiologists, though, love and faith are just illusions—useful ones, to be sure, helpful in dealing with the experiences of anxiety and homelessness that come with self-consciousness or individuality. But obsessing like an existentialist about one's own existence is not a useful human activity; we see the truth by focusing on what's best for the species. And of course there's no evidence either that God exists or that the human desire to know Him is natural.

The truncated view of human nature presented by the champions of "the end of history" and sociobiology leaves no room for genuine human distinctiveness. The end-of-history argument and sociobiology are in this decisive respect two sides of the same coin. The aim of both views is to allow human beings to experience themselves as fully at home in this natural world. A world in which evolutionary biology or sociobiology expresses the whole truth about our existence would mean the end of history. It would be a world without the greatness and the misery of distinctively human existence.

III

Have such seemingly permanent and fundamental experiences as love and death all but faded away? At first glance we might plausibly say that philosophic yearning and religious dread have disappeared among sophisticated Americans. But death has not really faded away. Sure, our bourgeois bohemians claim not to be obsessed with it. Their form of spiritual solace seems not to include any thought about what happens with or after death. They seem, at first, to be following our pragmatic professor of philosophy Richard Rorty's advice, putting death to death simply by not talking about it. But they've also discovered that Rorty's merely imaginative solution doesn't really work. A real pragmatist works in the most disciplined and scientific way against death while refusing to talk about it. He mouths Rorty's therapeutic platitudes

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from his treadmill, while faithfully following a low-carbohydrate, high-fiber diet.

Bobos claim to be laid-back bohemian nonjudgmentalists on everything. Or almost everything: When it comes to the soul, they reject as repressive the morality of traditional religion, but when it comes to the body, they are far from being laissez faire. They are pro-choice on abortion. But when it comes to seatbelts and smoking, there ought to be a law. Being chaste, they say, is unrealistically hard for our young people. But they can and should just say no to drunkenness and obesity. Sex of all kinds can be safe, but being fat is genuinely risky business. In their puritanical disdain for cigarettes, drunkenness, and rich food, the Bobos show themselves to be far more bourgeois than bohemian. Comparatively speaking, their predecessors—the martini-drinking, chain-smoking, dessert-eating, and war-fighting WASP establishment—laughed in the face of death.

But if Bobos, as I believe, are really the most bourgeois or Hobbesian Americans to date, then they must still be distinctively human. They are defined, above all, by their rebellion against death, against the necessity that constrains us all. Life is far harder for them than it is for any other animal. Their distinctive qualities seem to be evidence of their human nature. The Bobos' behavior is far more predictable and unbohemian than they would like to believe, but no other animal behaves as they do. We are tempted to conclude that at least for now their lives are still defined by their natures in a distinctively human way.

That conclusion stands even without the introduction of more subtle and controversial evidence for Bobos' human nature. Their inability to speak of their love for other human beings and God doesn't really show that they don't have such longings, or that those longings are not natural. Their ridiculous spirituality and pseudo-bohemian pretensions are not really satisfying. They are diversions. Bobos restlessly over-organize their own and their children's lives to keep themselves from having time to think about how empty their lives are. They constantly plan for their children's future because they can't figure out how to be in love with them in the present. Bobos are perhaps equally afraid of death and of the truth that whatever they do they cannot fend off death. They seem unable to come to terms with the ineradicable vulnerability and mortality of those they really do love. Bobos can't help but be troubled, because they seem to have been deprived of the words with which to describe truthfully their experiences as beings with speech by nature. They can't say what they really know about love and death.

It's not altogether bad news that Bobos, despite what they say even to themselves, are really screwed up. For they are screwed up in a distinctively human way. They do not really experience themselves as being fully at home in this world. And so they suggest, in a way despite themselves, that human nature does have a future.

To be sure, we don't know yet whether Bobos have what it takes to cope with the present terrorist threat. Bobos don't have the virtues associated with war, and they can't imagine their own lives without easily acquired wealth and liberty. But maybe the challenge of war will cause them to confront the truth about their natures more clearly. Harsh necessity may make them more courageous. The renewed need to be responsible citizens may well make them both less bohemian and less bourgeois. The president has said we are all soldiers now. Even the security-obsessed Bobos may become lovers of liberty. It seems that man as a political animal is back. So even Bobos, perhaps, will now acknowledge that war allows certain virtues to flourish in human nature, or at least that wherever we find human beings, war will always be a possibility.

But in truth, we don't know to what extent we are really at war yet. So far the main sacrifice the president has asked of American citizens is to be inconvenienced at airports. The stock market has returned to the September 10 level, and very few Bobos work in the troubled airline industry. It could be that the problem of global terrorism will be contained quite well by a relatively small and expertly trained elite military force abroad and an equally expert "homeland" intelligence service. Bobos' children may well not be drafted, and few of them will volunteer. American opinion was affected significantly by September 11, but American behavior has changed hardly at all so far. For a while, maybe for a long while, the new Hot War will affect daily life here in America even less than the old Cold War did.

IV

Still, history seems far less certainly at an end than it did in the Clinton era, and so human nature would seem to have a future—unless, of course, human nature itself actually can be changed by biotechnological progress. Many experts say that advances in biotechnology could soon add at least a couple of decades to the average human life, with the not-so-remote possibility of doubling the average human lifespan. We could design our babies and improve our descendants and the species. Is it conceivable that Bobos will resist such "progress"?

Perhaps it's unlikely. After all, why wouldn't Bobos welcome such remarkable advances, which would seem to be an extension of the progress they have already made through their rigorous regimes of diet and exercise? For Bobos, opposing the latest biotechnological breakthroughs would seem almost as unthinkable as choosing against

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bodily health today. Who wouldn't choose the best available body and brain for his or her child? The brain, our biologists tell us, like the rest of the body is merely a mechanism for comfortable self-preservation. Who would make perverse choices against what is best for any of our children? Should the law even allow it?

Bobos are nonjudgmental on every issue but health and fashion, and so they cannot oppose the claims of self-preservation with some higher principle. They seem to lack a point of view that would allow them to see there are good human reasons to choose against indefinite longevity. For one thing, with the near disappearance of death would also come the near banning of birth. Sex finally really would have nothing to do with reproduction. Would human life be worth living if it were completely freed from the hard and joyous responsibilities of birth, parenting, and aging? Choosing against indefinite longevity would be choosing against mere self-preservation, and for virtue, for love, birth, and death. Could Bobos summon the courage to make such a choice? Are they too obsessed with the fear of death to realize that an indefinitely long life, without virtue, might immeasurably heighten the fear of sickness and of death? The more death seems accidental rather than necessary, the more we will go to extraordinary lengths—living in lead houses and never going outside—to avoid what no longer seems so inevitable. Biotechnological progress might make life progressively more hellish. But rejecting or even directing biotechnology would seem to require a political will that Bobos have not yet shown they possess.

As September 11 reminded us, it is good that human beings are, at their best, naturally spirited defenders of truth and liberty.

Yet the argument that biotechnological progress will necessarily make us more miserably death-obsessed is itself questionable. We have already had great successes with neuro-pharmacology or drug therapy. Ritalin and Prozac are powerful, widely used drugs that change human experience and behavior. Who can deny that they help those who are severely disruptive or depressed? But everyone also knows that Ritalin is now given to boys who used to be regarded merely as spirited or aggressive. And Prozac calms women who used to be regarded merely as nervous or anxious. Drugs are taking the edge off being either a man or a woman, and they perhaps are leading us to the sort of androgyny that Marx, for example, thought we would have at the end of history.

And we have no reason not to expect that in the future drugs will do a progressively better job of taking the edge off the psychological effects of just being human. We will conquer our troubling propensities to be moved by love and death by chemically managing our moods. As Walker Percy predicted in *The Thanatos Syndrome*, we may be able to free ourselves from all the stress of self-consciousness, becoming happy and productive animals who in the right environment are never in a bad mood. We could, in other words, make sociobiology's view of man true by eliminating all those perverse features of human nature that have made this view untrue so far.

Unbridled biotechnology could destroy human nature. The result would not really be a return to nature, but rather the human construction of an unalienated human environment. Biotechnological success would then be, from one view, the decisive evidence for and the final act of human freedom: We will make ourselves into what we imagined natural perfection to be. We will make ourselves fully at home in the world.

The political objection to depriving human beings of the pains, problems, and perversities that naturally arise from self-consciousness is that we will have succumbed to a form of tyranny. And yet we may well not be able to recognize that we are enslaved. In the Brave New World the tyrants will be the experts who exempt themselves from the consciousness-negating treatment. We have a hard time seeing experts as tyrants, because they don't claim to rule through personal authority but on the basis of the impersonal results of scientific studies. After all, as more than one observer has noted, most Americans have no idea of the extent to which they have already surrendered their sovereignty—their personal judgments concerning their personal experiences—to such experts.

But we, thank God, still seem able to see our new Islamic enemies as tyrants. Our enemies believe they can defeat us because we are in the decadent thrall of the illusion that we can dispense with some of the human virtues, especially the manly ones. September 11 had the virtue of reminding Americans that it is good that human beings are, at their best, naturally spirited defenders of truth and liberty. It reminded us that the virtue of courage is indispensable not only for living well but for living at all. It also reminded us that, despite our best efforts, religious and political distinctions have not withered away. Perhaps it would be better if they did not. Surely the Brave New World can and should be resisted. Perhaps even our Bobos and our experts can come to understand that a distinctively human life, with all its suffering and limitations, is good, precisely because the longing to love others and God is not an illusion, nor does it finally go unsatisfied. ♦

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Tribe vs. Truth

Don't let Laurence Tribe interpret Bush *v.* Gore *for the generations of law students to come.*

By Peter Berkowitz

One of the reasons *Bush* v. *Gore* won't go away is that its scholarly critics—who are numerous, influential, and vehement—won't let it. Many of the biggest guns in the business—Yale's Bruce Ackerman, Harvard's Alan Dershowitz, New York University's Ronald Dworkin—weighed in early and denounced the decision unequivocally. Along with a substantial portion of their colleagues from law schools around the country, they have not been content to argue that the case was wrongly decided. Rather, in a continuing flow of newspaper op-eds, opinion magazine essays, law journal articles, academic conferences, and university press books, they have insisted that the December 12, 2000, per curiam opinion joined by the five more conservative justices on the U.S. Supreme Court was lawless and undemocratic.

Now Laurence Tribe, the Tyler Professor of Constitutional Law at Harvard Law School, an eminent appellate advocate and among the nation's foremost scholars of constitutional law, has stepped forward in the pages of the November 2001 *Harvard Law Review* to correct and refine and lend scholarly gravitas to the academic critique of *Bush* v. *Gore*. In the preciously entitled "Erog .v Hsub and its Disguises: Freeing *Bush v. Gore* from its Hall of Mirrors," Tribe provides one of the densest and most legally sophisticated attempts to date to demonstrate that the majority's legal arguments were "completely without merit," and that the Court's intervention betrayed an "utter disdain for democracy and its pluralistic institutions." The result of his labors, however, is a monument to the lengths its critics will go to make a scandal out of the case.

The academic critics have claimed that the U.S. Supreme Court was wrong in holding that the statewide hand recount of undervotes (ordered by the Florida Supreme Court on December 8, 2000) violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. It erred as well in concluding that under Florida law time had run out as of December 12 (the federal safe-harbor deadline) to conduct a constitutionally proper recount. In so ruling, the critics have charged, the conservatives committed an inexcusable violation of their judicial duty to decide cases in an impartial and principled manner. The conservatives' disgraceful decision was intelligible only as a reckless partisan act perpetrated to hand the presidency to their candidate.

This grave accusation, which quickly congealed into the academy's conventional wisdom, has far-reaching consequences. It inflames partisan anger and provides Democrats with a seemingly respectable motivation for obstructing President Bush's nominations to the federal bench. It warps the important public debate about the relation in our constitutional system between the courts and the democratic process. And—most damaging of all, perhaps—over the long haul, as the legal academy disseminates its disgust and disdain in the classrooms, it threatens to corrode the next generation of lawyers' confidence in the judiciary and their respect for the rule of law.

What makes these consequences particularly unfortunate is that the conventional wisdom that gives them life and legs is deeply flawed. To begin with, the academic critics misstate the holding of the case. It was not only that the Supreme Court held that the Florida recount unconstitutionally diluted the weight of citizens' votes by treating similarly marked ballots differently, applying different standards from county to county and sometimes within the same county and in the same counting room. What the critics overlook is that votes were also subjected to arbitrary and disparate treatment, the Court held, because the Florida court's recount excluded overvotes, the much larger class of spoiled ballots on which machines detected more than one choice for president; because it included the results of a partial and unfinished recount in Miami-Dade County; and because it allowed untrained and unsupervised personnel to count votes.

In addition, the academic critics misrepresent the

Peter Berkowitz teaches at George Mason University School of Law and is a contributing editor to the New Republic. *He is the author of* Virtue and the Making of Modern Liberalism.

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Court's reasoning about the remedy. The critics say that the Court imposed its independently arrived at interpretation of Florida law on the Florida Supreme Court. That's incorrect. The Court relied upon the Florida Court's construction of Florida law to conclude that December 12 was the outside deadline for determining the winner of Florida's 25 electoral votes.

And the academic critics misunderstand the conservatives' judicial philosophy. They imply that conservatives doubt that the Supreme Court has an obligation to review state action to ensure that it conforms to federal law and the Constitution. This too is incorrect. What the conservatives believe is that invalidation of state action by the Court must be grounded in settled precedent and explicit textual statements rather than moral values and substantive goods thought to be implicit in the Constitution.

Recognizing these flaws in the conventional wisdom, Harvard's Tribe entered the fray in order to set the record straight and show that despite misstatements, misrepresentations, and misunderstandings, the conventional wisdom—that the majority opinion in *Bush* v. *Gore* was lawless and undemocratic—is basically correct.

The combination of confidence and contempt with which Tribe makes his case against Bush *v.* Gore *is breathtaking. Particularly given how unconvincing that case is.*

If anybody could demonstrate, once and for all, the indefensibleness of *Bush* v. *Gore,* it is reasonable to suppose that it would be Tribe. Though an interested party—he notes that during the election 2000 controversy he was Vice President Gore's "counsel of record in all of the U.S. Supreme Court proceedings"—Tribe is the author of a massive two-volume treatise, *American Constitutional Law, 3rd Edition*, that is widely considered authoritative, and few surpass his mastery of the subject. Of course expert knowledge is a double-edged sword. The master doctor, as Socrates points out in the *Republic*, also makes the most effective poisoner. Indeed, far from laying bare the illogic of *Bush* v. *Gore*, Tribe's 135 pages and 533 footnotes in the *Harvard Law Review* weave a bigger and better disguise for the case and contribute mightily to locking the doors and bolting the gates of the house of mirrors in which legal scholars have sought to imprison it.

To be sure, Tribe makes a variety of telling points, including some that tell powerfully against the conventional wisdom and unwittingly, it appears, against his own critique. For instance, Tribe rejects the commonplace accusation that the conservative justices acted out of "partisan zeal and crude self-interest." He does so in light of a simple consideration: "Two moderate Justices [Breyer and Souter], whom no one could plausibly suspect of being foolish enough to contribute unwittingly to a partisan conspiracy nor corrupt enough to go along knowingly, accepted the equal protection theory adopted by the majority."

Although he doesn't notice it, this same simple consideration—that two non-conservative justices on the Supreme Court "essentially endorsed" the equal protection theory, bringing the total to seven out of nine Supreme Court justices—weakens substantially Tribe's own contention that the majority's equal protection holding is "completely without merit." Indeed, Tribe's wholesale dismissal of the Court's per curiam opinion as a symptom of diseased conservative thinking—"what the Court did is perfectly understandable in terms of several unfortunate pathologies generally manifested in its jurisprudence"—becomes even more implausible when one also considers that three of the seven Florida Supreme Court justices who heard the case that on appeal became *Bush* v. *Gore* (all of them Democrats serving on a liberal and activist court) found merit enough in the theory to conclude in their dissenting opinions that the Florida Court's selective recount was unconstitutional and must be terminated.

It is, however, the "political question doctrine" that furnishes Tribe with the principal materials out of which he weaves the newest disguise for use in the vilification of *Bush* v. *Gore*. Even supposing there were merit in the equal protection theory, Tribe insists that the Court would have been plainly wrong to intervene in the dispute. For Bush's challenge to the recount, Tribe argues (developing a theory sketched in Justice Breyer's dissent and alluded to in Justice Souter's), presented a political question for resolution by Congress, which the Court had no authority under the Constitution to hear, indeed which the Constitution "commanded the Court" not to hear.

The political question doctrine declares that the Court must avoid exercising powers or resolving controversies for which the Constitution assigns responsibility to Congress or the executive or the states. Or, more technically, according to *American Constitutional Law, 3rd Edition*, a controversy raises a "political question" in its primary sense when it prominently presents (in the landmark language of *Baker* v. *Carr*, the 1962 voting rights case holding that questions about legislative apportionment could be legal and not political) "a textually demonstrable constitu-

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tional commitment of the issue to a coordinate political department." In the case of *Bush* v. *Gore*, according to Tribe, "the requisite textual commitment to a political branch could hardly be clearer." The text, history, and structure of the Twelfth Amendment, which provides in relevant part that "The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and the House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted" is, in Tribe's view, "entirely decisive in establishing that power to resolve electoral disputes" is entrusted to Congress. And if there were any remaining doubt that the law required Congress and not the Court to resolve the issues raised in *Bush* v. *Gore*, it should have been disposed of by reference to the Electoral Count Act of 1877 (otherwise known as Title 3 of the U.S. Code, the source of the famous safe-harbor provision, which establishes the conditions under which Congress must treat a state's choice of presidential electors as conclusive), crafted and ratified in response to the Hayes-Tilden affair of 1876 and setting forth procedures for Congress to follow to resolve disputes over electors or electoral slates.

Tribe further maintains, quoting the dissenting opinion of his former Harvard colleague Justice Breyer, that beyond the strictly legal question, prudence too should have compelled the justices to stay their hand: "However awkward or difficult it may be for Congress to resolve difficult electoral disputes, Congress, being a political body, expresses the people's will far more accurately than does an unelected Court. And the people's will is what elections are about." In the end, it was the antidemocratic alliance of "hubris" and "disdain" in the conservative justices' jurisprudence, their overweening confidence in their own competence to define and rank constitutional values combined with a contempt for Congress and the people, that compelled them to halt abruptly the "constitutional dialogue" in full swing on the counting room floors in Florida. "Intervening to short-circuit the political process," Tribe scathingly concludes, "the Court stands revealed wielding naked power clothed in the trappings of judicial authority."

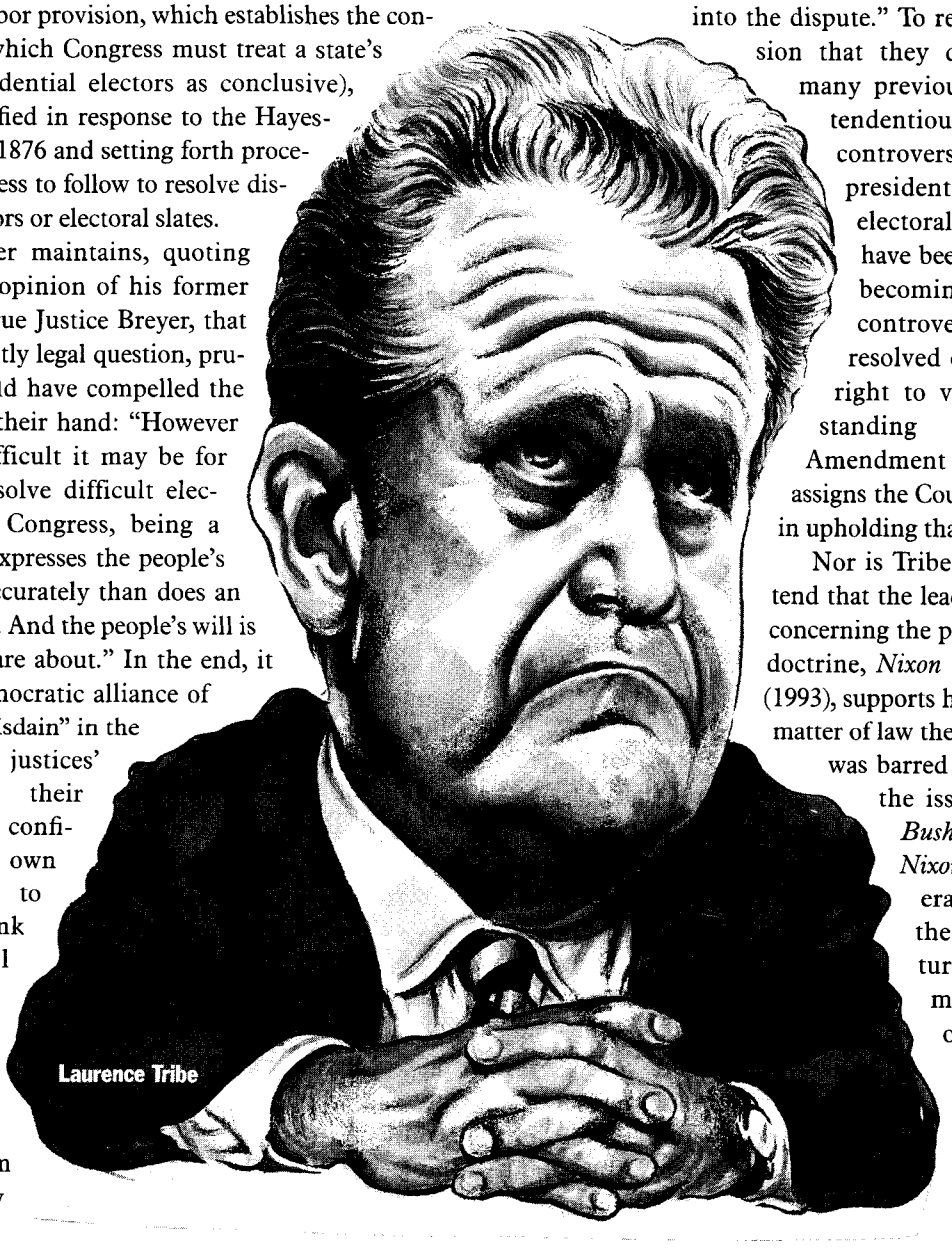

Illustration by Drew Friedman

This is the core of Tribe's case, grounded in the political question doctrine, against *Bush* v. *Gore*. The combination of confidence and contempt with which he makes it is breathtaking. Particularly given how unconvincing is his case.

For starters, contrary to Tribe, neither the Twelfth Amendment nor the Electoral Count Act "commanded" the Supreme Court "not to inject itself into the dispute." To reach the conclusion that they did, Tribe, like many previous critics, must tendentiously couch the controversy as one about presidential electors or electoral slates. It may have been on the way to becoming that, but the controversy the Court resolved centered on the right to vote. And long-standing Fourteenth Amendment jurisprudence assigns the Court a critical role in upholding that right.

Nor is Tribe correct to contend that the leading recent case concerning the political question doctrine, *Nixon* v. *United States* (1993), supports his view that as a matter of law the Supreme Court was barred from reviewing the issues at stake in *Bush* v. *Gore*. In *Nixon*, a former federal judge asked the Court to overturn his impeachment conviction on the grounds that the Senate tried him in an unconstitutional manner. The Court concluded that

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the issue was a nonjusticiable political question. While Art. I, § 3, cl. 6 of the Constitution provides that the "Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments," the Court found that it had no basis for intervening because "the word 'try' in the Impeachment Trial Clause does not provide an identifiable textual limit on the authority which is committed to the Senate."

Bush v. *Gore* represents a situation quite different from that which the Court faced in *Nixon*. If the election 2000 controversy had developed differently, if under the Twelfth Amendment and the Electoral Count Act of 1877 Congress had been compelled to resolve a dispute concerning rival electoral slates sent to it by Florida, and if the defeated presidential candidate had brought a lawsuit arguing that Congress had counted electoral votes in a constitutionally improper manner, then *Nixon* would have offered guidance to the Supreme Court. For *Nixon* says that the Court must have solid textual grounds in the Constitution for overturning a particular exercise of power conferred by the Constitution on Congress. But *Nixon* had no bearing on *Bush* v. *Gore*, because as of December 12, 2000, Congress had not yet begun to exercise the vote-counting power assigned to it by the Twelfth Amendment. Besides, in *Bush* v. *Gore* the Court was not engaged in counting electoral votes but in ensuring that Florida did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment's promise of equal protection by subjecting its citizens' votes to arbitrary and disparate treatment.

A final reason to doubt Tribe's case against Bush *v.* Gore *stems from the fascinating discrepancy between the arguments put forward by Tribe the scholar and those put forward by Tribe the lawyer.*

Furthermore, Tribe's invocation of the Hayes-Tilden affair cuts against his criticism of the Court, both because of the inappositeness of the political circumstances in 1876 and because of crucial changes in constitutional law in the last 40 years. In the aftermath of the 1876 election, Florida sent to Congress competing slates of electors. To deal with the problem, Congress created an electoral commission composed of five senators, five representatives, and five sitting Supreme Court justices. The nonjudicial panel split along party lines, with Justice Joseph Bradley casting the deciding vote in favor of the Hayes slate, thereby tainting members of the Court with the appearance of involvement in partisan politics. The lesson from Hayes-Tilden was that justices of the Supreme Court should not be asked to step out of their judicial role and participate in the resolution of politically charged controversies, and if the controversies do contain a question of federal or constitutional law, justices should participate in their resolution only if they reach the members of the Court as a lawsuit.

It is not surprising that no lawsuits on behalf of Hayes or Tilden reached the Supreme Court in 1876. The federal government was still relatively small and slight. The Fourteenth Amendment was only eight years old. Equal protection doctrine had not yet come into existence. The country would have to wait almost 90 years for the Court to hold under the Fourteenth Amendment that the vote, once granted, is fundamental, and that the Equal Protection Clause guarantees that states may not weigh one person's vote differently from another person's. These seminal developments in the 1960s created an independent constitutional obligation on the part of the Court to protect the right to vote, an obligation that is not lessened in elections for president.

Obviously, the Court had the discretion to choose not to hear *Bush* v. *Gore*; and there were respectable reasons—notably the interest all nine justices had in who would become the next president, with the power to appoint justices to the Supreme Court—for the Court to give Florida and Congress the chance to resolve the dispute. And just as obviously, judicial protection of the fundamental right to vote can affect a state's choice of presidential electors. Still, critics like Tribe who accuse the Court of having *selected* Florida's electors blur a crucial distinction. Enforcing a rule differs from selecting a winner. In insisting that state election procedures comply with the Fourteenth Amendment, the Supreme Court is no more selecting presidential electors than the umpire who ends the World Series by calling the tying run out at the plate is selecting the best team in Major League Baseball.

Moreover, on his own expansive understanding of Congress's vote-counting power under the Twelfth Amendment, Tribe is mistaken to accuse the Court of "seizing the last word on a matter that involved the identity of the next President." If the Constitution endows Congress with the sweeping adjudicative powers that Tribe finds latent in its Twelfth Amendment counting power, then there was no legal barrier to Congress's raising and considering a challenge to the electoral slate that resulted from the Supreme Court's decision in *Bush* v. *Gore*. Indeed, if Tribe is right about Congress's expansive constitutionally mandated role in presidential elections, then he

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is wrong to condemn the Court "for first interrupting, then bringing to a close the national conversation that was Bush vs. Gore, for making it into *Bush v. Gore*, and then calling the game before the matter could reach Congress." Instead, he should have reprimanded members of the House and Senate, and citizens and officials in Florida, and for that matter members of the Gore team, for failing to seize the moment and keep the national conversation going by challenging the Court's ruling and taking the case to Congress.

That having been said, Tribe is also mistaken to endorse Justice Breyer's confused argument that Congress was the proper place for the resolution of the election 2000 controversy because members of Congress are closer to the people "and the people's will is what elections are about." Elections are not only about the people's will. In elections, the people express their will through formal procedures. Whether those formal procedures have been complied with is not itself a question of popular will but of reason and law.

Finally, Tribe's charge that the Court's intervention betrays contempt for the democratic political process is based on a bizarre understanding of the relation between democracy and the rule of law, as if upholding the law were somehow inimical to the public good in a democracy. In truth, Tribe presses this charge half-heartedly. For some reason, when the Florida Supreme Court, in Gore-initiated lawsuits, intervened on Gore's behalf to overturn decisions by lower state courts and elected and local officials, Tribe saw a vindication of democracy. But when the U.S. Supreme Court intervened in those Gore-initiated lawsuits, overturning decisions by the Florida Supreme Court and effectively upholding the decisions by Florida's lower state courts and elected and local officials, Tribe saw a subversion of democratic process.

Like it or not, the 2000 election controversy was taken over by lawyers and judges within days of the election. The decisive battles took place in courts of law and turned on the interpretation of obscure and ambiguous statutes, little-known as well as landmark cases, and broad principles of federalism and constitutional law. In concluding that Bush's challenge to the Florida recount presented only a political question, Tribe downplays the extent to which the dispute, from the beginning, revolved around legal questions. According to *American Constitutional Law, 3rd Edition*, however, such a consideration is highly relevant: "ultimately, the political question inquiry turns as much on the Court's conception of judicial competence as on the constitutional text." If Tribe's authoritative treatise is to be relied upon, then once again it seems that the climactic claim in his *Harvard Law Review* article that *Bush* v. *Gore* involved a plainly nonjusticiable political question must be rejected. This is because there can be little doubt that the justices on the Court are more competent than the politicians in Congress to determine whether, by debasing or diluting the weight of citizens' votes, a court-ordered statewide recount violates the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

A final reason to doubt Tribe's case against *Bush* v. *Gore* stems from the fascinating discrepancy between the arguments put forward by Tribe the scholar and those put forward by Tribe the lawyer. "How remarkable was it," Tribe mockingly observes in the *Harvard Law Review*, "that neither the Court's per curiam opinion nor the Chief Justice's concurrence so much as mentioned the political question issue, much less attempted to justify its assertion of authority in the face of the seemingly applicable political question doctrine? It's hardly the sort of thing a Supreme Court Justice simply forgets about." Or, one might add, hardly the sort of thing a lawyer arguing a case in the Supreme Court simply forgets about.

Indeed, if the Constitution's command to the Court to keep out of the Florida controversy really had been applicable and conclusive (or even a command), it is remarkable that Gore's brief to the Court—which Tribe wrote and signed as counsel of record—fails to so much as mention the political question doctrine or assert that Bush's challenge to the recount was nonjusticiable or invoke the Twelfth Amendment. It would seem that by failing to mention a legal argument that Tribe the scholar regards as clear cut and decisive, Tribe the lawyer, before the highest court in the land and in one of the biggest cases of his career, committed a substantial blunder. Or by characterizing in the *Harvard Law Review* as clear and decisive a legal theory that Tribe the lawyer, along with some of the brightest legal minds in the land, regarded as not worth mentioning in their brief on behalf of the vice president, Tribe the scholar committed a substantial mischaracterization of the law.

In passing off weak arguments as if they were devastating and unanswerable, and in refusing to acknowledge any merit whatsoever in respectable arguments on the other side of the issue, Tribe the scholar displays the vices that have contributed so much to the academic denunciation of *Bush* v. *Gore*. Indeed, after a year of intemperate and deeply flawed criticism and with no end in sight, the collective effort by academic critics to expose the alleged failure of the conservative justices in *Bush* v. *Gore* to fulfill their obligations as judges has done nothing so much as expose the failure of academic critics to fulfill their obligations as scholars. ♦

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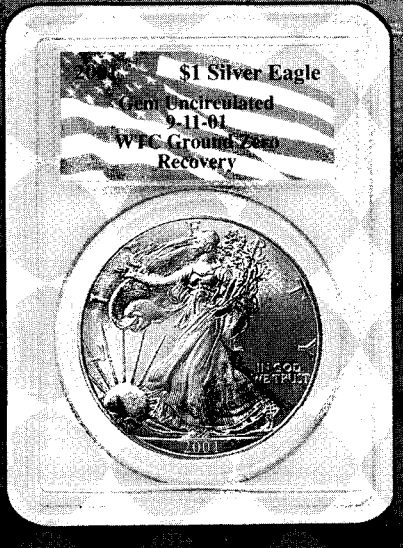

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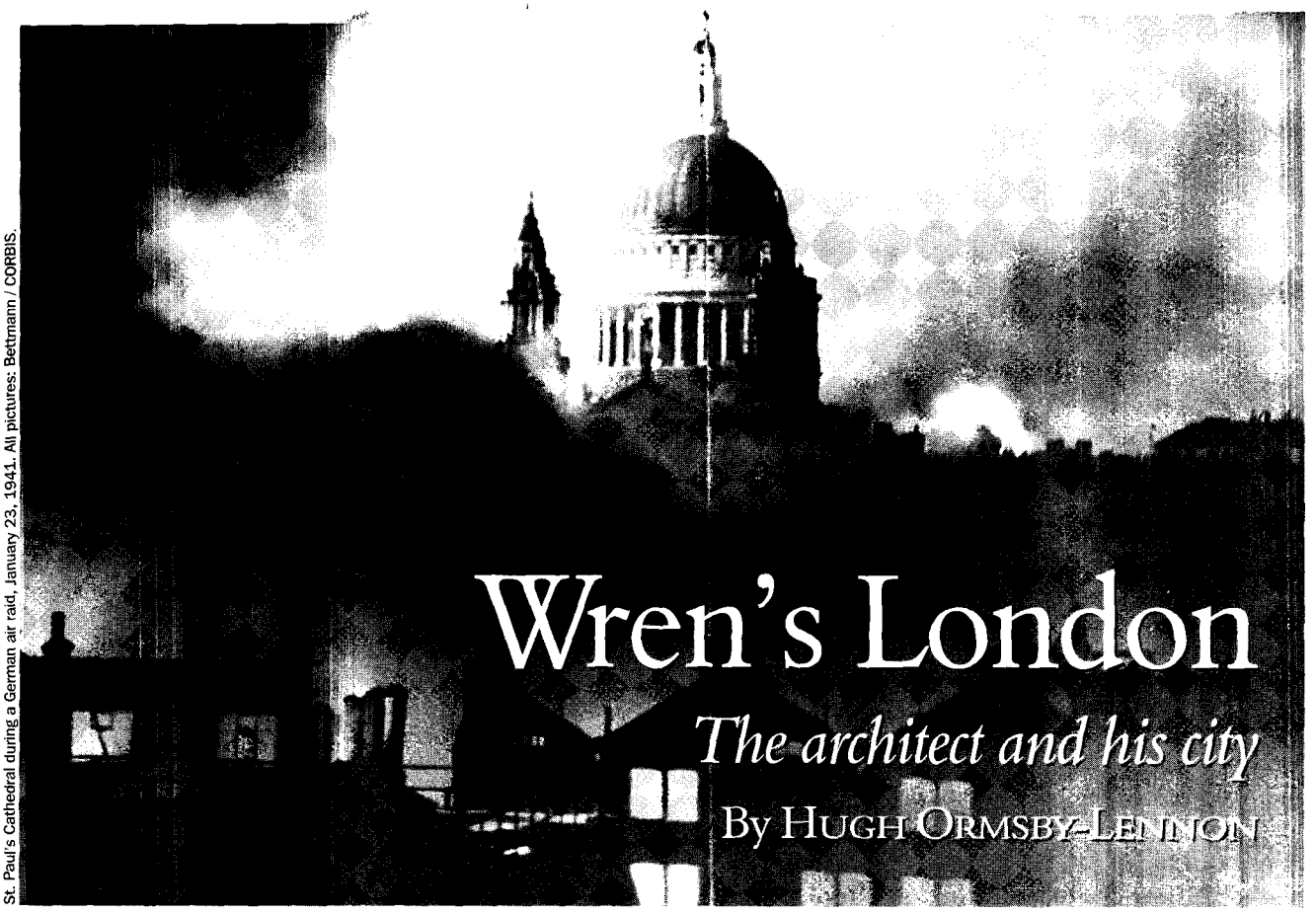

St. Paul's Cathedral during a German air raid, January 23, 1941. All pictures: Bettmann / CORBIS.

Wren's London

The architect and his city

By Hugh Ormsby-Lennon

Si monumentum requiris, circumspice. So runs the famous inscription on Christopher Wren's tomb: "If you seek his monument, look around." And what you see is the whole of St. Paul's, the cathedral Wren began designing for London in 1666.

At the end of *His Invention So Fertile*—the first biography of Wren in a generation—Adrian Tinniswood asserts that as a scientist, astronomer, and architect, Wren was responsible for far more. "If you seek his monument, look around." And what you see is much of the modern world.

It's an exaggerated claim, of course. The truth is, whatever our verdict on Wren's influence, previous ages did not regard even his architecture as sacrosanct. By the time Wren was an old man, tastes had already changed, and his "English Baroque" style struck the next generation—prissier in their neoclassicism—as ornate and old-fashioned. Town-planning, road-widening, and the taste for Gothic revival all took a shocking toll in the succeeding centuries. The Victorians demolished almost as many of Wren's designs as Hitler's Luftwaffe did. The last of Wren's legendary City of London churches to fall to English hands was All Hallows in Lombard Street, leveled in 1939.

And then the miracle happened. During the Blitz, St. Paul's Cathedral somehow escaped major damage, and its dome rose triumphantly from amidst a smoking wasteland as the symbol of England's fortitude. Wren became a national icon, and the rebuilding of London after World War II reminded everyone of the rebuilding of London that Wren had overseen after the Great Fire of 1666.

His Invention So Fertile
A Life of Christopher Wren
by Adrian Tinniswood
Oxford University Press, 463 pp., $35

Born in 1632, Christopher Wren had first seemed bound for a career in the Church of England. His father was the dean of Windsor and his Uncle Matthew the bishop of Ely. Both were fervent supporters of Charles I and Archbishop Laud, who were endeavoring to overhaul Anglicanism during the 1630s. "Laudians" like the Wren family wanted congregations to kneel before communion rails and altars—in churches refurbished with statuary and wall-paintings—rather than to remain seated in plain pews where bread and wine were brought to them from simple communion tables. Such Laudian changes were vilified as "popish," and Charles's control of church and state started unraveling during the late 1630s. Laud was beheaded in 1645, King Charles in 1649. Oliver Cromwell and his Puritans held sway until the Restoration of Charles II (and Anglicanism) in 1660.

During such interesting times, there was no career for the young Wren in the church. Wren's father, driven from his parishes, mooched around during the 1640s, failing to find work as a schoolmaster. In 1642, Uncle Matthew was imprisoned in the Tower of London where, unconvicted of any offense, he remained for eighteen years. Meanwhile Christopher was educated at Westminster School, where his contemporaries included John Locke and John Dryden, and at Wadham College, Oxford.

Hugh Ormsby-Lennon teaches eighteenth-century literature at Villanova University.

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The Warden of Wadham College, John Wilkins—who, in 1652, married Cromwell's widowed sister—had been installed by the Puritan regime, but he was a doctrinal moderate and an impresario of the "new philosophy" (as modern science was then known) that was already flourishing. Even as a schoolboy Wren had displayed a virtuosity for making sundials and other instruments, and Wilkins proceeded to introduce the young prodigy to all the right people. (Indeed, during the 1650s, Wren dined with Cromwell, who told him that his Uncle Matthew "may come out if he will," but Matthew angrily rejected any pardon from Cromwell's "detestable tyranny" and remained in the Tower.)

To the sightseers who now throng Wren's buildings—St. Paul's Cathedral, the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford, the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, the Royal Naval Hospital at Greenwich, Chelsea Hospital, and the City Churches in London—Wren's scientific work outside architecture is, at best, obscure. But Wren had a remarkable series of careers. He was a professor of astronomy in London by age twenty-four and the Savilian Professor at Oxford by twenty-nine.

In *His Invention So Fertile*, Tinniswood celebrates Wren's "ground-breaking discoveries in optics, astronomy, anatomy, mathematics," but Wren's lasting achievements as a scientist are debatable. During his twenties, his "New Theories, Inventions, and Mechanick Improvements" brought him fame, both in Oxford and London, as a visionary of the new philosophy. But, as Tinniswood sees, many of his mechanick improvements seem closer to the gadgetry of late-night television ads—*It slices! It dices!*—than to hard science.

During the 1650s, Wren was tinkering with submarines, talking statues, and a double-writing instrument. To Charles II, Wren presented microscopic drawings of fleas and lice, but it was his presentation of a "lunar globe" to the restored monarch—a result of Wren's telescopic surveys—that was acclaimed as a marvel. Wren also proved himself a dab hand at canine splenectomies and other gruesome vivisections. In 1663 he assured the Royal Society that he had found "sympathetic medicine"—treating a patient's handkerchief, for instance, instead of the patient—to be efficacious. When his second wife became ill with thrush, Wren prescribed a bag of bog-lice to be worn around her neck; again he claimed success.

Wren was hardly alone in such endeavors. For many of its practitioners, the new philosophy was not so far removed from the old mumbo jumbo. Seventeenth-century British scientific

genius witnessed William Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood, Robert Boyle's chemical experiments, and Isaac Newton's *Opticks* and *Principia Mathematica*. But on his deathbed, Harvey submitted to useless bleedings, futile and dangerous treatments that his own discovery of blood's circulation should have discredited. Boyle spent years endeavoring to wangle the philosopher's stone from an elusive bunch of Rosicrucians. Newton was a closet alchemist and apocalypsist.

The curious thing about Wren, however, is that he abandoned most of his scientific interests in his early thirties to follow architecture as a career. Tinniswood provides salient and absorbing details of how Wren's family background in conservative Anglican politics as well as his own scientific gifts may have influenced this mysterious swerve toward architecture that has always perplexed scholars.

But Tinniswood can't quite pluck out the heart of Wren's decision to disengage himself from science and the Royal Society during the 1660s. Did Wren, he wonders, find himself networking more effectively with conservative clerics than with scientific meliorists? My own hunch is that Wren intuited that the new philosophy had not attained a point at which it could deliver many practical benefits. Perhaps Wren sensed—despite an apparent "contempt for his own easy mastery of every known branch of scientific thought"—that the technological apex of science was still not within reach.

Christopher's father died two years before the Restoration. But in 1660 Matthew was reinstalled as Bishop of Ely, and in 1663 he secured and funded his nephew's first architectural contract: a chapel for Pembroke College, Cambridge. Wren visited Paris between July 1665 and March 1666, and it was there he met Lorenzo Bernini, the architect and sculptor who had already changed the face of Italy and was set to begin on France. "Bernini's Designs of the Louvre I would have given my Skin for," Wren wrote after their short interview, "but the old reserv'd Italian gave me but a few Minutes View." Yet Bernini (who told Louis XIV, "Let no one speak to me of anything small") and Louis XIV (who replied, "I see that this is indeed the man as I imagined him. . . . As far as money is concerned, there need be no restriction") helped inspire Wren with a vision of grand architecture.

The Great Fire devastated London in September 1666, six months after Wren's return from France. (Margaret Boerner quips that he probably set the fire himself so he could redesign the city's tangled medieval streets.) After six days picking through London's smoldering "Rubbish," Wren presented Charles II with a comprehensive plan for a new city. Critics have since

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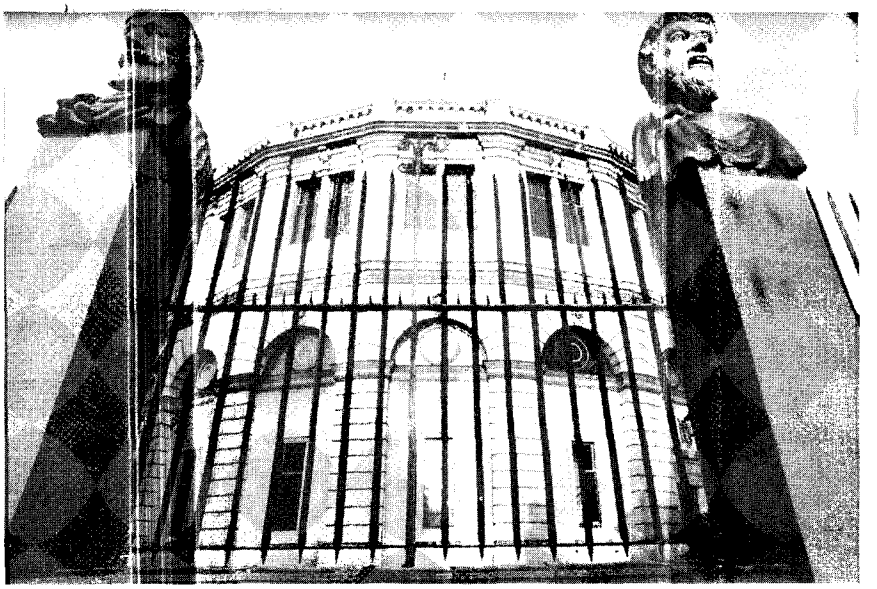
complained that its "European" geometrical plazas and avenues were—like L'Enfant's plan for Washington, D.C.—somehow alien to the "English temperament."

Whatever the case, Wren's extraordinary plan was thwarted by the immediate need to rebuild and insurmountable problems of land-title. (Even World War II failed to obliterate London's medieval configuration.) But there was still much for Wren to do as King's Commissioner for the Rebuilding of London. The city needed a brand-new cathedral and a fresh panorama of parish churches in contemporary classical styles.



Wren's Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford.

England's continuing ecclesiastical crises also affected Wren's church architecture, as sour memories of the Puritan abolition of Anglicanism yielded to worries about the Catholic sympathies of Charles II and James II. Wren's first idea for St. Paul's—the glorious "Great Model"—was rejected as too "popish." Wren wept. His grand vision of architecture was repeatedly thwarted by an impecunious court and a parsimonious church and city. The constant changes of personnel in the court, church, and city also proved a vexation. Wren took some bribes, threw some tantrums, and engaged in some dodgy practices, but these were all part of the workaday world of the building trades.

Even in St. Paul's as completed—Europe's first purpose-built Protestant cathedral—"there was," as Tinniswood observes, "an air of popery about the gilded capitals, the heavy arches, and the opulent carving." Wren's decisions were, however, aesthetic rather than doctrinal. During the tumultuous events of his long life, Cromwell's dinner guest of the 1650s found himself "invincibly armed against all the enchantments of Enthusiasm." Yet his "Happy Invention of a Pulpit on Wheels" for St. Paul's still reflects his youthful enthusiasm for gadgetry.

Other churches soared around the city before the cathedral dome was finished in 1708 when Wren was seventy-six years old. What the Anglican establishment looked for in its London churches after 1660 was an elegant "box" that would audibly accommodate preachers, and what the individual parishes wanted was to top them off with unusual or high steeples (preferably both, if funds for "steeple envy" permitted). Tinniswood emphasizes that Wren has frequently been given too much credit for "his" City Churches—only six are attributable to him alone—but their vision and vocabulary register what their prime mover communicated to his fellow designers. Unfortunately, Wren's team was not contracted to plan their interiors. Only St. Paul's realized the full vision of Wren, and its sumptuous altar-pieces and rails looked back to Laudian priorities.

Tinniswood can write with a dry and economical wit. The narrative can lose its way in a mass of incidental detail, but episodes like the collapse of a coastal quarry which provided St. Paul's with its sole source of Portland Stone—and the ensuing difficulties with finances, logistics, and quarrymen—are important moments in both the cathedral's history and Wren's biography. Even the information that a bronze plate for one of the designs upon which Wren modeled his "lunar globe" was melted down to make a tea pot provides a whimsical anecdote that Wren's contemporaries would have savored.

What Tinniswood cannot provide are many facts about Wren's private life because, like the "lunar globe" and half his City Churches, these have vanished. Wren's references to his family are scant. All but one of his nine sisters are noted "only for their marriages, or the dates of their deaths, or both, or none." Wren married his first wife, Faith Coghill, in 1669; in 1675 she died of smallpox. Seventeen months later he married Jane Fitzwilliam, who died in 1680. Wren had two children by each wife. The first of these died in infancy; the third was "Poor Billy," a handicapped boy. The second was another architect, also named Christopher, who championed his father's reputation (and added the resonant epitaph to his father's tomb). His only daughter Jane was a gifted musician who never married and kept house for her father. Wren was single or widowed for all but nine of his ninety-one years, and left none of that dirty linen through which biographers now enjoy rummaging. What little evidence there is suggests he was a good husband and loving father. His many friends loved him.

Still, Wren's background and life are better documented than Shakespeare's, and his immensely varied professional and intellectual life are far better documented. But it is his art that commands attention.

While I was growing up amidst the rubbish of postwar London, St. Paul's and the surviving City Churches seemed simply *to be*: the work of God rather than of human mind and hands. But Christopher Wren actually did build them, and Tinniswood's *His Invention So Fertile* provides an enthralling description of his mind and hands. In London, at least, *si monumentum requiris, circumspice.* ♦

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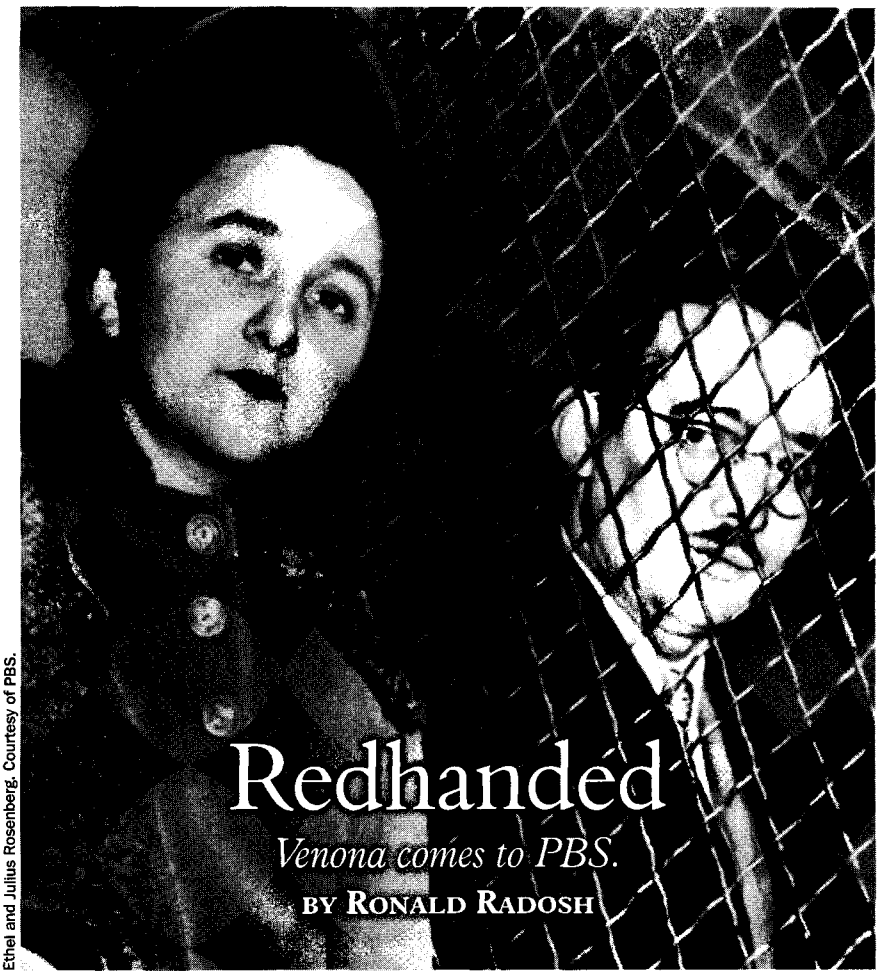

Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. Courtesy of PBS.

Redhanded

Venona comes to PBS.

BY RONALD RADOSH

On Tuesday, February 5, PBS will air *Secrets, Lies and Atomic Spies*, a documentary by the award-winning NOVA science unit. The program is a breakthrough for both PBS and NOVA, for it moves beyond its avowed subject of code-breaking to the impact that code-breaking had on our understanding of Soviet espionage in the 1940s and 1950s.

The project called "Venona"—the name of the top-secret wartime effort to break Soviet codes sent from the KGB's Moscow center to its American agents—has been explained by John Haynes and Harvey Klehr in their definitive 1999 account, *Venona: Decoding Soviet Espionage in America*. The Venona decrypts show that the USSR, ostensibly an ally of the United States in the war against Nazi Germany, carried out a giant espionage operation against the United States. Its agents worked in the State Department, the Treasury, and even the White House. As Klehr puts it when he appears in the NOVA documentary, "There is not a single government agency that was not infiltrated."

More, the Venona decrypts revealed that the American Communist party was deeply implicated in that Soviet espionage, with the full knowledge and cooperation of some of its top leaders. Robert Lamphere, the FBI agent in charge of counterintelligence and its liaison with the Venona code-breakers, makes the point as sharply as possible: "The American Communist party was involved in espionage at the highest level."

Or rather, the revelation of Venona *ought* to have made all this clear. But, by and large, Venona received little attention from the mass media, and a good section of the American left continues to question it. Despite the historical consensus of almost all observers that Alger Hiss's guilt has now been proved, Victor Navasky, publisher and editorial director of the *Nation*, and others deny the identification of Hiss with the figure called "Ales" in the Moscow telegrams. In 1995, when the National Security Administration began to declassify Venona, the first of the decrypts to be released proved beyond doubt that Julius Rosenberg was a major Soviet agent and his wife Ethel was his accomplice. But the Rosenbergs' children, Robert and Michael Meeropol, argue the possibility that the Venona files are entirely fraudulent.

Now, for the first time, the importance of what Venona reveals is presented to a mass audience, and the scientific accuracy of the code-breakers' painstaking work is both explained and honored by the NOVA team. Befitting a science program, this NOVA episode begins by informing viewers about the secret wartime project carried out at Virginia's Arlington Hall. We are shown—with an on-camera explanation by expert Stephen Budiansky—how the Soviets formed their code with a nearly unbreakable one-time-pad cipher. Our code-breakers were able to begin to decipher the transmissions only after wartime pressures led the KGB to become sloppy, and to reuse old code books for new messages.

The late Meredith Gardner explains how he used their most important mistake to pore laboriously over thousands of codes, thereby recovering the meaning of individual words and phrases. Gardner tells us of William Weisband, an Army intelligence agent assigned as a liaison consultant to Venona, who watched as Gardner broke a 1944 code about the scientists working at the Manhattan Project (an American project that the Soviets had obviously obtained information about). Weisband, it turns out, was himself a KGB agent who informed the Soviets that the United States was breaking its secret codes. By 1948, as former NSA employee Lou Benson puts it, "the Soviet codes went dark," and the Americans could not break the new transmissions.

The heart of the NOVA presentation is the key role of Theodore Alvin Hall in atomic espionage. Hall was identified in Venona, but since the code-

Ronald Radosh is the author of Commies: A Journey through the Old Left, the New Left and the Leftover Left *and, with Joyce Milton, of* The Rosenberg File.

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breaking's existence had to be kept secret and could not be used in court, Hall was able to walk free. He stood firm under intense FBI interrogation and refused to admit his role as a Soviet spy. He simply walked out of a second session with the FBI and eventually left the United States for the safe haven of Britain, where he had a distinguished scientific career until his death last year.

Hall has always had his defenders. But *Secrets, Lies and Atomic Spies* includes an interview, conducted with Hall shortly before his death, in which he admits for the first time that he had indeed given major atomic-bomb secrets to the Soviet Union while an Army officer at the Manhattan Project. Indeed, Hall told a KGB agent in 1944, as Allen Weinstein and Alexander Vassiliev revealed in their book, *The Haunted Wood*, that "there is no country except for the Soviet Union which could be entrusted with such a terrible thing" as the atomic bomb.

Viewers are also shown a large portion of the interview NOVA conducted with Hall's wife, Joan, who makes it clear that as far as she is concerned, Hall did nothing wrong, since he thought that the Soviet Union was a good society and "he was afraid the United States might become a very reactionary power." Her husband, she insists, "wasn't a spy . . . wasn't an agent." He was simply a "scientist with a conscience who shared knowledge with the Soviets."

Secrets, Lies and Atomic Spies suggests that the information passed to the Soviets by Ethel and Julius Rosenberg was of limited importance compared to what they obtained from Hall and later from Klaus Fuchs. The program includes a short portion of an interview in which Michael Meeropol says that if Venona is accurate—something he still cannot acknowledge—then the United States arrested only "a small-fry spy."

A more accurate way to put it would be, as Harvey Klehr points out, that Julius Rosenberg gave the Soviets major military information. Nevertheless, that information was nowhere near what Hall and Fuchs turned over to the KGB. If Venona had been known at the time, the prosecution at the Rosenbergs' trial would not have been able falsely to accuse them of having given key atomic secrets to the Soviets—nor would Judge Irving Kaufman have been as likely to hand down the dual death sentence that made them major Communist martyrs.

Secrets, Lies and Atomic Spies concludes with the words of the NSA's Lou Benson, who says that the Venona project and its eventual compromising by the Soviets was an "intelligence failure never equaled or surpassed in the history of U.S. intelligence." But during the window of opportunity that existed before the Soviets changed their codes, the United States was able to gain access to top-secret communications, which proved conclusively that the Soviet Union had targeted the United States and infiltrated our government's top ranks. It also was able to identify a good many of its agents.

Writing in the 1960s, Rebecca West pleaded that if treason was to be ended, public opinion had to make it clear that "treachery is a sordid and undignified form of crime." We must, she argued, "abandon all sentimentality in our views of the traitor, and recognize him as a thief and a liar." That's what the revelation of the Venona decrypts ought to have done in recent years—and what the new PBS special will help further. ♦

Delta Force

How Charley Patton made the blues.

BY STEPHEN F. HAYES

Every black living in the Mississippi Delta during the 1920s knew of Charley Patton, and many of the whites did too. A slight man of mixed ancestry, he traveled with his guitar from plantation to plantation, juke joint to juke joint, across the dusty roads of the Delta, earning a reputation as an innovative musician and an extraordinary and tireless entertainer. It was a life of drinking, carousing, and womanizing.

Screamin' and Hollerin' the Blues
The Worlds of Charley Patton
Revenant, 7 CDs, $169.98

Patton was probably the best-known, best-selling Delta blues musician in the late 1920s and the 1930s. Paramount records, in a gimmick to boost sales, sponsored a contest featuring Patton's music. The posters read: "Screamin' and Hollerin' the Blues, by the Masked Marvel—Guess Who He Is?" His percussive guitar-playing and his growling vocals were familiar enough that Paramount execs figured some fans would recognize him, even if Paramount didn't use his name.

Things are different today. Patton still receives serious mention in blues histories, a paragraph in blues encyclopedias, and a song or two in blues anthologies. But his influence on early acoustic blues—and, thereby, on the whole of American popular music—has done little to keep him from fading away. Now, with the release of *Screamin' and Hollerin' the Blues: The Worlds of Charley Patton*—a handsome, photo-album-sized boxed set that includes CDs, biographies, audio interviews, reproduced legal documents—the Revenant record label has made one last attempt to reintroduce Charley Patton.

It's worth the effort. Patton was killed in the early 1930s, when a "barrelhousing" woman slit his throat. Either that, or he drank himself to death. If not booze, then perhaps it was the mumps, or a lightning strike, or

Stephen F. Hayes is a staff writer at THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

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syphilis, or rheumatic fever. Or maybe a jilted lover slipped him some poison. Each of these was at some point the accepted explanation of Patton's death. But no one is quite sure when or how Patton died, or what might have contributed to his early passing. (Initial guesses had Patton living to fifty, though more recent accounts suggest he died at forty-three.) The most likely explanation—and the one listed on his recently discovered death certificate—is that Patton died from heart trouble.

Similar uncertainty surrounds most every aspect of Patton's life and music—from his treatment of women to the meaning of his lyrics. Even the spelling of his first name is a subject of some disagreement. (Most blues historians seem to have settled on "Charley," though some still use "Charlie.") The number of his wives—best guess these days is eight—remains a mystery. Patton had so many liaisons with so many women that in the biography *Charley Patton*, John Fahey used quotation marks whenever he referred to a Patton "marriage."

All pictures: Revenant.

The one thing everyone agrees on is where it started, writes Dr. David Evans, a blues historian from the University of Memphis. "There is no uncertainty about his place of birth. All sources agree that it was in the country between Bolton and Edwards, Mississippi, two communities that are themselves about midway between the cities of Vicksburg and Jackson." Evans says that birth "almost certainly" took place in 1891. Other accounts say 1887. That such imprecision represents "certainty" says much about the difficult task of piecing together details of the life of a black man in the post-Reconstruction South, even if that man was relatively well known throughout the region. Patton is widely believed to be the son of Bill and Anney Patton, though John Fahey reported years ago, in a matter-of-fact manner, that "Patton was the son of Henderson Chatmon and Anney Patton." Either way, Patton was clearly of mixed race.

Perhaps the only aspects of Patton's life consistent from account to account are that he drank constantly, snorted cocaine, spent time in jail, and beat women. In "A Spoonful Blues" he sings: *I'm about to go to jail about this spoonful / Says aw that spoon, aw, that spoon / Yes, I'm goin' crazy every day of my life*. The few things we know about his life frequently show up in his recordings. "Patton sang almost exclusively about people and events in his own small neck of the woods," wrote Fahey.

Several Patton songs make direct references to local figures: "Tom Rushen Blues," named for a local sheriff's deputy; "Joe Kirby," named for the owner of a plantation of a Patton paramour; "Jim Lee," named for a popular Mississippi riverboat.

Such local references were more likely used for their entertainment value—to offer his audiences something familiar—than for imparting deep socio-political meaning. According to blues historian Edward Komara, "The social wrongs and racial violence done to blacks are implicit only in a few songs, like 'High Water Everywhere.'"

That song, included with Patton's 58 others in the Revenant collection, is considered his "magnum opus." The song was Patton's not entirely accurate recollection of a 1927 flood of the Mississippi River: *Back water at Blytheville, back up all aroun' / Back water at Blytheville, done struck Joiner town / It was fifty families an' chil'ren (some of them sink and drown).*

Fahey finds this parochialism odd, given Patton's professed aspirations of worldwide fame. There are other tensions in his work. While his own experience was carefree, reckless, and often distinctly unreligious, many of his songs feature traditional words of Christian spirituality. Patton's father—if it was indeed Bill Patton—was a minister, and religion played an important role in the struggles of southern blacks during Patton's lifetime. Just as his audiences would identify with local references, so too would they appreciate borrowed phrases and even melodies from traditional religious songs. (Patton's "I Shall Not Be Moved," for example, was an "inspirational hymn—known all over the south.")

The familiarity of those lyrics complemented—or perhaps helps explain—Patton's proclivity for spontaneous composition. Blues historian David Evans writes, "Many of his songs seem only minimally planned or rehearsed, particularly in their texts. Patton seems to have pulled together in advance a melody, a guitar part, and one or more key verses, which would give the song a certain identity, and then added the other verses at the time of performance." Such impulsiveness helps explain the curious linkages in Patton's lyrics. His words frequently head in one direction, only to switch inexplicably in mid-song. Patton sometimes just doesn't make sense.

Adding to the difficulty is Patton's pronunciation—or lack of it. He rolls

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through his lyrics, articulating almost nothing. His vocals have the slurred, imprecise quality of a drunk sloshing his way haphazardly from sentence to sentence. An easily identifiable word is a rarity, and the thorough transcription of Patton's songs is just short of miraculous. Son House, a contemporary who recorded with him, explains that the lack of articulation may have come as a result of the fact that Patton and his contemporaries were often "lickered" when they performed, even in the studio. (His brilliant guitar playing seems undamaged by his drinking. "Patton's right hand slide vibrato is sublime, accurate and fast as lightning," writes Fahey.)

When Patton slows down, his distinctive, throaty growl emerges. "He didn't just speak clear, like you or me, he had a growl and he talked like that, too. Just like you hear him singing," said Rev. Booker Miller in a 1968 interview. It's a glottal moan—thousands of independent, consecutive staccato sounds that combine to produce a continuous, gnarling tone. It's the aural equivalent of an impressionist painting—only there's no isolating the reverberations. On many songs, he alternates the growl with his trademark high-pitched, falsetto wail. (The title of the new Revenant collection, *Screamin' and Hollerin' the Blues*, is taken from one of Patton's songs and is an apt description of Patton's own vocal style.)

And then there was the guitar work. Patton often uses his guitar to mimic his vocals, sometimes dropping a syllable, a word, a phrase or even a verse into the guitar line. "Now, Charley Patton was just a guitar man," said Miller, who knew Patton for four years and played with him regularly. "He just could handle his guitar—he could pick it, set it up on his lap, or on his shoulder, anywhere he wanted to."

Patton's unique voice and innovative playing—as reflected on these recordings—were not the only things that made him a larger-than-life presence in the Delta. His live performances were legendary. Patton, according to those who played with him, would play all night as long as there was a crowd to hear him. Patton had fun playing the blues. "He could endure, you know what I mean?" recalled Reverend Miller. "He didn't get tired and lay his box down and walk out like many musicians do."

Patton's influence was vast. He inspired dozens of young musicians during his lifetime and many others after his death, including blues innovators Howlin' Wolf, Muddy Waters and John Lee Hooker, folk guitar legend John Fahey, and the indefatigable Bob Dylan, whose latest CD features a cover of Patton's "High Water Everywhere." Howlin' Wolf described Patton's influence in an interview included with the collection:

> How did I start to make records? I was plowin'—plowin' four mules on the plantation. And a man come through there pickin' a guitar called Charley Patton and I likeded his sound. So I always did want to play a guitar, so I got him to show me a few chords, you know? And so, every night that I'd get off of work, I'd go over to his house and he'd learn me how to pick the guitar—Seein' the people's went for what I was puttin' down—So I asked my father to get me a guitar. 1928, the fifteen day of January.

Previous attempts have been made to resurrect Patton and restore his proper place in American music. Earlier box sets—including one last spring called *The Definitive Charlie Patton*—have been less definitive and met with little success. Revenant's effort is the most exhaustive and compelling account of Patton's life and work. But sadly, like its predecessors, this new collection will likely do little to stir interest in Patton or advance understanding of his contributions outside the blues world. Even if they are no longer giving out free records for identifying the Masked Marvel, he is well worth unmasking. ♦

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Hollywood Hawks

Mogadishu at the movies.

BY JONATHAN V. LAST

When *Black Hawk Down* went into release a few weeks ago in New York and Los Angeles, the *New York Times*'s Elvis Mitchell went on the attack. He claimed that it was riddled with "jingoism," had "a simplistic gung-ho spirit," and reeked of "glumly staged racism." He mocked the American soldiers in the film because they "grin . . . righteously" as they try to "kidnap members of the inner circle of General Muhammad Farah Aidid."

Mitchell and a handful of other critics have attacked *Black Hawk Down* for a variety of reasons, but when you get right down to it, they have only one gripe: It doesn't hate the military. A slender movie about a small but important event, *Black Hawk Down* is faithful to Mark Bowden's 1999 book. Director Ridley Scott has stripped it bare of the usual Hollywood hokum and instead made a picture that depicts the events of October 3, 1993, fairly and accurately: A small team of American soldiers goes into downtown Mogadishu to apprehend two of Aidid's top lieutenants and is attacked by thousands of heavily armed Somali men, women, and children. The soldiers are hunted through the night, and after nearly twenty-four hours of sustained combat, make their way to the safety of a U.N. compound. Eighteen Americans and more than five hundred Somalis are killed.

In the cinematic sense, *Black Hawk Down* is more than pedestrian filmmaking, but not much more. It doesn't stand in the same league as *Tora! Tora! Tora!* or *Saving Private Ryan*. But in a cultural sense, *Black Hawk Down* is an important movie, for it marks the end of Hollywood's campaign against the armed services.

Not long ago, the progressive Baby-Boomer types who started coming to power in Hollywood in the 1970s minted a seemingly endless stream of war movies that made the U.S. army look like a band of barbarians. The fashion may have started with Stanley Kubrick's 1964 nuclear-freeze comedy *Dr. Strangelove*, but anti-military sentiment built up far beyond *Dr. Strangelove*'s level during the 1970s. After the Vietnam war ended, movies began to depict not just the army's leadership as corrupt, but the troops, as well. In *The Deer Hunter* (1978) and *Apocalypse Now* (1979), nearly every man in fatigues is a brutal, doped-up savage.

By the time the 1980s rolled around, Baby Boomers were becoming directors, and they were producing deeply unflattering portraits of the military. Oliver Stone's *Platoon* (1986) won Academy Awards for best director and best picture—for portraying a unit in Vietnam made up of homicidal maniacs and confused incompetents. Kubrick's crack at Vietnam, *Full Metal Jacket* (1987), was equally unflattering, as was the 1989 Brian De Palma film *Casualties of War*, about a group of American soldiers who rape a Vietnamese girl. There were pro-military movies, of course, like *Rambo* (1982) and *Top Gun* (1986), but they tended to be popcorn fare. Nearly every serious film made the army look ghastly.

When the Gulf war started, yellow ribbons sprang up across the country, and suddenly—all at once, really—Americans loved their armed forces again. Even people who opposed the war were careful to couch their objections in language that supported and ennobled the troops on the ground. And after the war ended, Hollywood began the slow process of coming to terms with the nation's embrace of its warriors. Ridley Scott's *G.I. Jane* (1997) portrayed the roughneck Navy SEALs as a decent bunch, even as they were having gender integration forced on them. *Saving Private Ryan* (1998) kicked off the celebration of the Greatest Generation, which continues today. In *Rules of Engagement* (2000), a colonel orders his men to fire on a crowd of civilians storming an American embassy in the Middle East. During his court martial, it is proven that the civilian mob was heavily armed and provoked the attack. In 2001, both *Pearl Harbor* and *Behind Enemy Lines* took sunny views of soldiers. On a few occasions Hollywood has relapsed into its natural state of military hating, notably with 1998's *The Thin Red Line* and 1999's *Three Kings*, but the films performed poorly at the box office.

And with *Black Hawk Down*, even that small bit of dissent has packed it in. In a movie fraught with room for worrying about military conduct—the mission was dubious, the indigenous population was black, civilians were killed—*Black Hawk Down* is squarely on the side of the Americans, who are portrayed as committed, moral professionals making the best of a bad situation. It is a movie that would have been impossible to make fifteen years ago.

The only people who haven't come around are some hold-outs in the critics' corner. In his review, Mitchell accused *Black Hawk Down* of turning "the Somalis into a pack of snarling dark-skinned beasts." An AP wire story last week reported that at a screening of the movie in Mogadishu, "Somali men jumped up and cheered as the first American helicopter hit by Somali gunmen fell to the ground" and "cheered whenever an American was hit." It seems that the only people left who still want to see American soldiers as the bad guys are our enemies—and our film critics. ♦

Jonathan V. Last is online editor of THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

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"Will this be all, sir?"

Books in Brief

***The Coming Collapse of China*, by Gordon G. Chang (Random House, 320 pp., $26.95).** When, in the early 1970s, Soviet dissident Andrei Amalrik wrote *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?*, he was wrong about the date, but right about the collapse. Now Gordon Chang, an American lawyer who has worked in China for two decades, has written an acerbic analysis of China's economic, social, and political problems—and predicted that within five years China will collapse into post-Communist fiefdoms, possibly as the result of economic upheaval, possibly as the result of war with Taiwan, which Chang thinks China will lose.

Chang focuses on the economic problems facing Beijing—especially the impending bankruptcy of many of China's state-owned enterprises. A 1999 report showed that 89 percent had distorted their profit-and-loss statements in the previous year. A Bank of China report indicates that 25 percent of Chinese bank loans are non-performing. Outside observers put that figure at closer to 70 percent. When China joins the World Trade Organization next year, Chang notes, large segments of China's agricultural economy will succumb to international competition, creating massive unemployment: tens of millions of angry, perhaps desperate indigents.

"China's leaders," Chang writes, "have not been able to recognize what the rest of the world already knows: socialism, with or without 'Chinese characteristics,' does not work." The end will not be pretty. In "about five years," the combination of economic collapse, outrage at the Communists' corruption, and nationalistic anti-Han rage in Tibet and Xinjiang, will combine to bring about in China the process of collapse that characterized communism's demise in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. "There will be blood, because the Chinese Communist party, born of struggle, will not yield with grace." Chang's reporting and writing is often pithy and funny. He offers an insider's account of business negotiations, and he notes the rise of heterodox belief systems with the Falun Gong and China's burgeoning Christian house-church population.

Where he is not as persuasive is in spelling out how China's collapse is likely to occur. What if China's Communists transform themselves into an ultra-nationalist party, popular—at least initially—because of tough nationalist stances on Xinjiang, Tibet, and Taiwan? Under a less pessimistic scenario, a rump group of Communist leaders might bring forth a Chinese Gorbachev. Stranger things have happened. The collapse of the empire in 1911 brought to power a Hawaiian-educated Chinese Christian called Sun Yat-sen. He wasn't a good politician, but he is still admired by both Chinese Communists and anti-Communists—which suggests there is hope for a less apocalyptic end than Chang predicts.

—David Aikman

***The Feminist Dilemma: When Success Is Not Enough*, by Diana Furchtgott-Roth and Christine Stolba (AEI, 228 pp., $25).** Have you ever noticed how the debate over affirmative action usually turns on issues of race, rather than sex, even though women are the principal beneficiaries of preferential treatment? Democrats know that the case for "gender" preferences is extraordinarily weak. Republicans are afraid of losing the "women's vote." The result is that affirmative action for women is seldom openly debated. In *The Feminist Dilemma*, Diana Furchtgott-Roth and Christine Stolba explain why.

Although most Americans support equal opportunity for women, few favor state-imposed androgyny. But socially engineered androgyny is exactly what comparable worth, subsidized childcare, and a host of other feminist sponsored initiatives are all about—sold as remedies to the "wage gap" and "glass ceiling."

Furchtgott-Roth and Stolba convincingly expose these spurious rationalizations and reveal the aims of American feminism, and the surprising, often quiet, means that feminists have employed to achieve them. Covering a range of issues—sexual harassment, family leave, women's athletics, affirmative action—*The Feminist Dilemma* provides a comprehensive critique of the practical program of feminism.

—Stanley Kurtz

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"Why, during one of the most trying periods in U.S. history over the past half-century, would the mandarins of the West Wing interrupt their normal course of business to allow our team to roam the halls, rig lights, and set up makeshift studios? Because it's not just strength but images of strength that matter in this 21st-century war. And because, I like to think, the pages of Vanity Fair, more than any other two-dimensional space in our culture, have taken on a status equivalent to the High Sierra of the Public Image."
—Graydon Carter, Editor's Letter,* Vanity Fair, *February 2002

THE MEETING

BOB WOODWARD

CHAPTER 8: VF DAY

December 3, 2001, dawned bright and clear. It was the crucial day of the war. Members of the staff of *Vanity Fair* were coming to the White House. More than any other two-dimensional space in Western civilization, the pages of *Vanity Fair* had taken on the stature of the Mount Pinatubo of the Public Image, and everybody at the White House was slightly intimidated.

The president was up early, studying his briefing book for the meeting. Laura Bush was holding up flash cards with different styles of women's pumps.

"Armani . . . Prada . . . Versace," Bush was barking out the designers. He felt confident and prepared.

The vice president came in early. "Mr. President, good morning. If the subject of Meg Ryan comes up, let me do all the talking. I've got the NSA checking up on Brad Pitt's heterosexuality."

Cheney checked his heart monitor. "I'm racing 89 beats a minute," he noted. "More than any other one-dimensional person in our culture, *Vanity Fair* editor Graydon Carter has achieved the status of the Grand Canyon of the Glossy Image."

"Steady, Dick. You're babbling," the president said, trying to appear calm. "Remember when Carter comes in, just compliment him about his hair. We can handle this."

The wait was long. The staff of *Vanity Fair*, unaware that Washington, D.C., was not part of Washington Square Park, was five hours late.

Finally, Carter and his crew surged into the Cabinet Room, just steps from the Oval Office. "Okay. Which one of you is President Bush?" he barked. The president raised his hand nervously.

Just then, Condoleezza Rice entered the room in a bright orange rag-style miniskirt with a lemon yellow chiffon blouse. The room was silent. "What? It's a Betsey Johnson," she explained.

Photographer Annie Leibovitz had also arrived. The room was hushed, redolent of the Sean Penn-Madonna wedding. The two sides eyed each other nervously.

"What we want is a series of bold, magnetic images," Carter began. "You . . . What's your name?"

"Andrew Card, sir."

"Get out. To me you say 'Middle-aged White Guy.' I'm picturing something younger, sexier. Doesn't Rob Lowe work here? We're going to run this picture opposite a shot of Osama bin Laden. We're going to shoot him from below, so it looks like he has two chins. Give him really splotchy skin. A set of images that really captures what this war is about. On one side, America: physically fit, really nice haircuts, Ken Cole ties. Really well groomed. On the other side, Osama and the Taliban: puffy, dry skin, unkempt. Very DKNY. Edgy but Evil."

The White House staff was putty in his hands. More than any two-dimensional space in Western Civilization, the pages of *Vanity Fair* had achieved the status of the Mount Everest of Trivialization.

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The Palestinian Identity

Robert Zelnick is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution and acting director of the Department of Journalism at Boston University.

On a clear March night in 1986, accompanied by a young Palestinian lawyer named Jonathan Kutaeb, I drove from Jerusalem to Nablus to pay respects to the family of Zafir el-Masri. El-Masri had been assassinated by a Palestinian fanatic for daring to cooperate with Israel by serving as mayor of an important town. But the Palestinians attending his funeral treated him as a hero.

Because of his unique standing, the Israel Defense Forces held back, allowing the funeral to become an emotional display of national sentiment. Illegal Palestinian banners were waved wildly. Masked celebrants chanted their allegiance to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). El-Masri's shroud was passed from hand to hand above a crowd pulsating with energy.

On the drive to Nablus, my friend Jonathan tried to put the significance of el-Masri's funeral into words. **"Palestinians have always relied on some outside force to deliver us from occupation.** First it was the pan-Arabism of Nasser and Assad. Then the Russians. Then the PLO from its bases in Lebanon. Then the Americans after Camp David. Now we know that by asserting our identity we must deliver ourselves."

When the first intifada erupted more than a year later, I was back in the states, covering the Pentagon. From afar, I felt great sympathy for the Palestinian people and little for Israeli settlement policies. Israel, in my view, had vital security interests in the West Bank and Gaza, the foremost of which was a Palestinian community that accepted Israel's right to exist. Settlements whose defense required a stifling, humiliating military presence were obstacles to real security.

Oslo would later seem a triumph of reason over ruin. The principle of mutual recognition could succeed selfish, destructive obsessions with national destinies. Israel could return to its central mission of providing a haven for world Jewry while the Palestinians could build a nation reflecting their values and character.

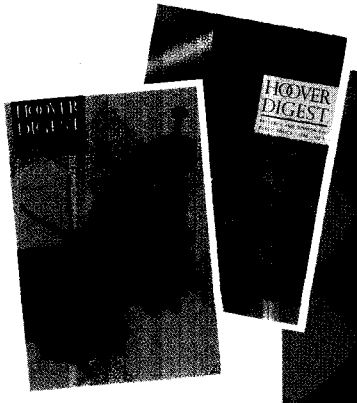
Instead, today there is heartbreak. And this time blame for the failure rests almost totally with the Palestinians. Yes, the settlements have expanded. But this Palestinian uprising began as many settlements were being negotiated away by a prime minister who had staked his political life on true compromise.

Far more troublesome is the evident mentality of the Palestinian community. Does a man who blows his body to bits for the transcendent joy of killing a score of Jewish teenagers accept the humanity, let alone the statehood, of his victims? **When a third of all Palestinians identify the terrorist Hamas organization as their preferred political vehicle, are they ready to administer the holy city of Jerusalem side by side with Israelis?** When their teachers and mullahs argue the falsity of the Holocaust and the truth of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, can one believe the Palestinians have any peace to trade for land?

As I recall the drive to Nablus nearly sixteen years ago, part of me still yearns for the Palestinians to affirm their identity. Another part of me fears they have already done so.

— Robert Zelnick

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.



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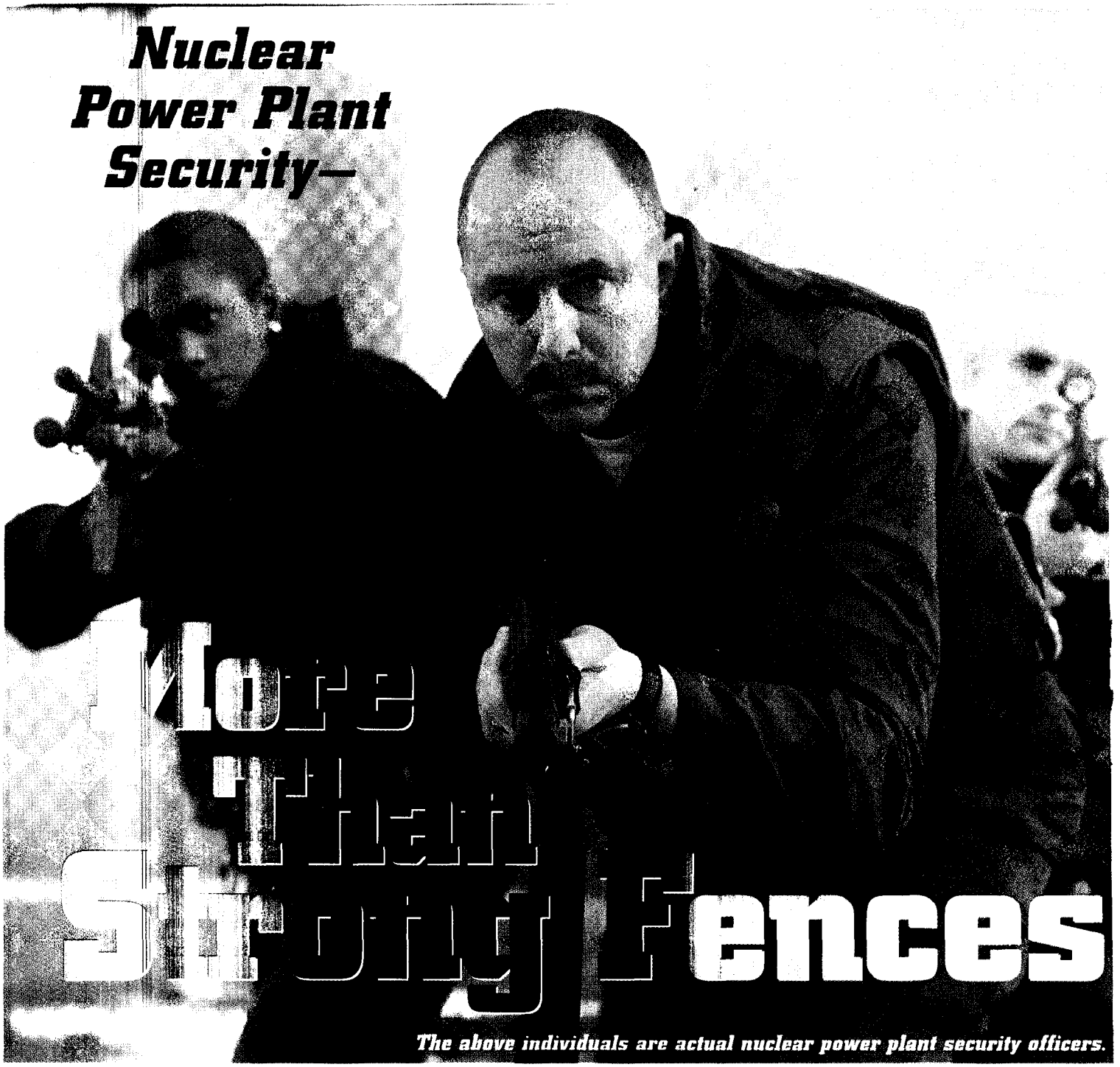

The security of America's nuclear power plants begins with the highly committed... highly trained... well-compensated professionals who protect them.

70% of these professionals have prior military, law enforcement, or industrial security experience.

It's about the parami security professionals wh what's behind the fe

They are subject to FBI background checks... psychological screening... substance abuse testing... intense employment scrutiny... and physical fitness testing.

Their training is intense, exacting, and continuous. They are expert marksmen, annually certified in an array of weaponry. In short, they're professionals!

Nuclear power plant security – it's about more than strong fences.

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